C.D. 38

OUT OF THE ASHES

An account of the rehabilitation of refugees from
West Pakistan in rural areas of East Punjab

By

M. S. Randhawa, *I.C.S.*

FOREWORD

by

S. UJJAL SINGH

Printed by C. N.Raman at New Jack Printing Works, Ltd., Bombay 13.

TO

THE REFUGEE FARMERS OF PUNJAB WHO DISPLAYED UNPARALLELED COURAGE, ENDURANCE, AND FORTITUDE IN AN UNPRECEDENTED CALAMITY.

FOREWORD

The recounting of any tragedy must revive painful memories, and "Out of the Ashes" by Mr. M. S. Randhawa, can be no exception to this rule. The publication relates to the greatest calamity known in history. The author has given a brief but a vivid account of the exchange of population that became inevitable as a result of the partition of the Punjab, the holocaust that came in its train, the problems created, and the way they were solved in the Punjab (India). The main theme of his book, however, is the resettlement on land of lakhs of land-owners and others depending for their livelihood on agriculture, who had been uprooted from the Punjab (Pakistan) and had to be settled on the lands abandoned by Muslim evacuees in Punjab (India). Several factors, the most outstanding of which was that Hindu and Sikh land-owners had abandoned a much larger and more fertile area in the West Punjab than the evacuee Muslims had left in East Punjab, added greatly to the complexity of the problem. A system of allotment based on standardisation of lands on both sides, on gradedc uts on areas of allocation had to be evolved. S. Tarlok Singh, the first Director General of Rural Rehabilitation, tackled this work with remarkable zeal under the able guidance of an experienced and talented administrator in the person of Mr. P. N. Thapar. A good deal of statistical information had to be collected, hundreds of detailed instructions had to issue and several new pieces of legislation had to be enacted. The precise procedure, rules, instructions and formulae evolved to enforce this unprecedented scheme are contained in the Land Resettlement Manual compiled by S. Tarlok Singh. In the present book, the author, Mr. Randhawa, who took over from S. Tarlok Singh in 1949 and was responsible for the consummation and completion of the work, has lucidly stated the human background, the reasons for the measures adopted, and the way in which the scheme

was actually implemented. A large number of excellent photographs have been used intelligently and artistically to illustrate the author's views; and this work ought to be of interest to all those who have been allotted lands, to revenue officials, and to the average man.

Among other things the author has dwelt at some length on some agricultural tribes in the United Punjab, their history, their characteristics, and their respective contributions towards the agricultural prosperity of the United Punjab. A great change has, however, come about in the importance attached to tribal distribution of the population. The Constitution of India and the agrarian laws have abolished such caste and class distinctions.

The Partition of India has caused another noticeable change. There is now a shortage of food in India, and this can be met only by increased internal production or imports from outside. Both Government and the public want the land-holder to produce the maximum from his holding. In the matter of actual cultivation, the sickle, the spade and the plough in some cases are giving place to tractors and mechanical cultivation. This tendency was developing very noticeably but the limit on individual holdings likely to be imposed by future legislation has been a discouraging factor. The only hope of the extension of mechanical cultivation now lies in the furtherance of co-operative farming which has, however, yet to make a headway in this State.

The author, besides being an experienced administrator, has a flair for art and beauty and rural development, and in this book he has given useful suggestions for beautifying the villages, brightening the life of the villagers, and the general development of the rural areas of the Punjab. These suggestions deserve the greatest consideration. The Punjab Government's schemes for generating electricity on a large scale are nearing completion and it is hoped that by November, 1954 when the first phase of the scheme is expected to come into operation, it would be possible to supply electricity to a large number of villages. Electricity would be available for lighting and other domestic uses which would lead to the brightening of rural homes. Electricity would be available for small and cottage industries also, which would lead to greater employment and supple-

mentation of incomes in rural areas. I fully share Mr. Randhawa's optimism that before long the life in villages will provide more interest, and its narrow monotony will disappear. The displaced land-holder from the West Punjab, although he has been allotted a much smaller area than what he possessed in Pakistan, is striving to maintain his old standard by producing as much from its present small holding as he was producing from his bigger holding in Pakistan. He is also eager to explore all other avenues for increasing his income. The rural psychology, in short, is ready for receiving new ideas and schemes, and the people are in a mood to try them out. This is a hopeful atmosphere for the implementation of the Five Year Plan.

The author has dealt also with another very controversial problem of resettlement, namely whether or not the resettlement should have been on the pattern of West Punjab villages. Chapter IX of Section II describes faithfully all the points against and in favour of the proposal, and states the reasons which led Government not to attempt to re-establish West Punjab village communities in East Punjab.

The whole of Section III is well worth a serious reading. It contains two chapters on Garden Colonies and Model Villages dealing respectively with interesting and progressive schemes which are bound to have a far reaching effect on the agricultural economy and sociology of this State. The Section contains also other chapters in which the author has discussed several new tendencies in rural development, and given his own views with a refreshing frankness and conviction. It is not necessary to be in agreement with all he has said. It is possible to hold different views on these subjects and, in fact, different views on these subjects are not only held but are finding popular acceptance. The author, however, has taken keen interest in rural problems for a number of years; he has a practical mind, and he understands the cultivator, particularly the small and the middle owner. He has been connected with advanced organizations whose business it has been to conduct research in progressive agriculture and land policy. With this back ground, therefore, his views on these subjects, even if one does not agree with him entirely, are entitled to a careful study and examination.

Finally, the keen interest of Mr. Randhawa in the uplift of the rural population on both material and cultural sides is apparent throughout this interesting book. He has done a great job in rehabilitation, and his rich experience will prove of immense value in successfully tackling development schemes in the State.

The opinions expressed in this book are the author's, and do not necessarily reflect the views of the Punjab Government.

Ujjal Singh
Minister for Finance and Rehabilitation,
Punjab.

PREFACE

The great migration of people which followed the partition of India in August-September, 1947 is one of the major events in world history. Large scale migrations of people have been taking place in the past also, and this country was flooded with hordes of people from Central Asia in the remote historical past. One of the major migrations which involved large scale movement of people took place from 165 B. C. to 50 B.C. when on account of unprecedented droughts in Central Asia Yeuh-Chi tribes of nomads were driven from their pasture lands in Central Asia and were scattered over Afghanistan and northern India. Northern India witnessed another large scale migration from 450 A.D. to 483 A.D. when it was inundated under a flood of the Huns. These are events of the past, largely forgotten by the common people, and known only to students of history. While droughts and hunger were the motive forces behind the migration in the past a political decision was the cause of the large scale movement of the population which followed the partition of northern India. Serious administrative problems were created, the like of which were never handled by administration before. Within a week after the 15th August, 1947 about 11 lakh Hindu and Sikh refugees had crossed over from West to East Punjab and in the following week another 25 lakhs had collected in concentration camps in West Punjab. Out of these refugees we are concerned with the rural population and in this book it is described how these refugees from the rural areas of West Punjab, Sindh and Bahawalpur were re-settled on evacuee land in East Punjab. The terms East and West Punjab are retained for convenience, though they are no longer correct for these fragments of the Punjab are under two sovereign States.

In this book it is described how following the partition the movement of refugees was controlled and regulated, what arrangements were made for their reception and how they

were rested in refugee camps so that they could find their bearings in their new environment in a land, which to a large number of them was more or less unknown.

The class or tribal composition of the agricultural refugees is described and for this reliance is placed mainly on the opinions of the British administrators like Sir Malcolm Darling and Mr. H. Calvert who made a sympathetic study of the Punjab peasant, and being outsiders had the advantage of watching an alien people with sufficient detachment and objectivity which may not be possible for an Indian to achieve.

No doubt that the Constitution of India does not recognise caste or tribal distinctions, but the fact remains that there are distinct caste-types in India with special characteristics on account of in-breeding over a long period. It is worth-while to know these traits and characteristics so long they exist, otherwise the picture of the human element in the rural area remains incomplete. These caste-types would only vanish when there are inter-caste marriages on a large scale, and only then a truly national type would be evolved. Of this, however, there is no indication at present, for even the highly educated people who are expected to be broadminded, marry within their caste-groups.

It is further described how rural refugees were sustained during the early phase of their migration by temporary allotment of evacuee land and ultimately how they are allotted land on quasi-permanent basis. It is explained why it was not possible to resettle the rural refugees on a village-wise basis in East Punjab, though it was one of their most persistent demands. Details are given about the procedure adopted for allotment of houses and gardens. As for statistical data and technical details the reader is directed to S. Tarlok Singh's Land Resettlement Manual. This is an account of the Resettlement operations from the human angle for the benefit of the layman.

The special schemes of the Punjab Government such as those relating to Garden Colonies and Rural Housing are also described. Steps taken to provide financial assistance to the resettlers and in restoring the shattered rural economy with the aid of generous loans provided by the Government

of India are mentioned in detail. New patterns in farming which have emerged as a result of resettlement and how they have affected the rural economy of the East Punjab are also described. In the Chapter entitled 'Brightening the Villages' the steps which should be taken to regenerate the evacuee rural area of East Punjab are mentioned.

The work of rural resettlement was handled by a huge staff and at one time as many as 8,000 Patwaris were working at Jullundur. Such a gigantic operation the like of which has not been attempted in any part of the globe represented a vast cooperative effort in which the Governor, the Ministers, two successive Financial Commissioners, two Directors General of Rural Rehabilitation, a large number of experienced revenue officers designated as Additional Deputy Commissioners and Revenue Assistants Rehabilitation, Tehsildars, Naib Tehsildars, and Patwaris all participated. The contribution of Sir Chandu Lal Trivedi, Governor of East Punjab in rural resettlement is particularly significant. Rural Rehabilitation work was handled on an emergency basis and for that purpose an Emergency Committee was organised in which all the Cabinet Ministers, and high officials of the Rehabilitation Department and other Government Departments were represented. In the Emergency Committee, policy decisions on major problems of general nature which cropped up from time to time were taken and the progress of work was reviewed. It was mainly on account of the guidance and supervision of the Emergency Committee that the work of rural rehabilitation progressed smoothly and with speed. The succession of Rehabilitation Ministers including S. Partap Singh Kairon, S. Ishar Singh Majhail, S. Joginder Singh Mann, and Dr. Lehna Singh provided liaison with the mass of rural displaced persons and by their vigilance provided a check on the revenue staff, which by no means consisted of angels. Shri Ajit Prashad Jain, Minister for Rehabilitation, Government of India provided liberal financial assistance to the land-allottees and it was on account of this help given so timely that the refugee farmers were able to settle down in their new allotments in such a short time. Apart from this, Mr. Jain by his deep sympathy made a substantial contribution to the rehabilitation of the rural refugees.

The credit for organising the land allotment work mainly goes to S. Tarlok Singh who joined as Director General from the very start, organised the staff and formulated the complicated scheme of quasi-permanent allotment of land. It fell to the lot of the present writer to participate in the formulation of the schemes for allotment of houses and gardens, garden colonies, Fauji villages, rural housing scheme and schemes of financial assistance. He had also to bear the brunt of the execution of the land allotment scheme in its later stages.

No account of the resettlement of rural displaced persons can be complete without making a mention of the contribution of Mr. P. N. Thapar, I. C. S. Financial Commissioner, Rehabilitation, who was a friend, philosopher and guide of the rehabilitation staff. With his vast experience of revenue work and of rural life of Punjab which he acquired as a Settlement Officer and as a Deputy Commissioner, he provided leadership and guidance to the staff. By his robust common sense, clarity of mind and methodical work he guided the rural rehabilitation work in its most critical stage. During the difficult days of 1950-51 when the Secretariat at Jullundur protected by barbed wire was almost besieged by large crowds of discontented and angry refugee farmers he maintained his sense of humour and serenity of mind, and by his personal example inspired his staff to an almost superhuman effort and they worked over a long spell of time till late hours without enjoying a holiday. His deep sympathy and love of the Punjab farmer as well as intimate knowledge of rural life and conditions inspired confidence among the refugee farmers and contributed greatly to the success of the scheme. The present author had an opportunity of working in close association with him and in fact it is his conversation which provided the climate in which this book took its birth.

Before I close I must express my sincere thanks to a large number of friends and colleagues who have helped me in recording the various facts. My particular thanks are due to Messrs. Kushal Singh, H. K. Mathur, and Krishan Partap Singh Under Secretaries, S. Gurbachan Singh, Registrar of Land Claims, and Mian Fateh Singh, Additional Registrar of Cooperative Societies. I gratefully acknowledge the as-

sistance given by S. Kulwant Singh Virk, Public Relations Officer and it was mainly due to his loyal and devoted collaboration, that this book was written in the midst of very heavy work. The text has been illustrated by numerous photographs mainly taken by the author himself in his tours of the rural areas in the East Punjab as well as by Mr. H. K. Gorkha, and some were loaned by Mr. L. R. Nair, Director of Public Relations. Visual charts which provide a good deal of information were prepared by Mr. N. S. Bisht. I am thankful to Mr. Prem Nath for preparing the index and to S. Niranjan Singh for correcting the proofs. I also gratefully acknowledge the courtesy of Oxford University Press for allowing the use of quotations from Sir Malcolm Darling, "The Punjab Peasant in Prosperity and Debt". Mr. G. D. Khosla very kindly permitted the author to utilize the material from his 'Stern Reckoning', and the chapter entitled, 'The Holocaust' is mainly based on Mr. Khosla's findings as Chairman of the Fact Finding Commission. It is hoped that this book will provide a mass of valuable information to all those who are interested in the rural life of East Punjab, and how it was rebuilt after it had been shattered by the partition, and how Phoenix like the displaced Punjabi farmer has arisen out of the ashes.

25th October, 1954.

M. S. Randhawa
Rehabilitation Commissioner,
Punjab.

CONTENTS

Chapter

SECTION I

1. THE PARTITION 3
2. THE HOLOCAUST 12
3. THE EXODUS 26
4. THE MIGRANTS .. ..
   i. THE COLONISTS 33
5. THE MIGRANTS .. ..
   ii. THE NON-COLONISTS 53

SECTION II

6. TEMPORARY ALLOTMENT OF EVACUEE LAND 67
7. QUASI - PERMANENT ALLOTMENT OF EVACUEE LAND 74
8. GAP IN AREA AND THE SCHEME OF GRADED CUTS 93
9. COULD WEST PUNJAB VILLAGES BE RE-ESTABLISHED IN EAST PUNJAB AND PEPSU .. 109
10. ALLOTMENT OF HOUSES 120
11. ALLOTMENT OF EVACUEE GARDENS 127

SECTION III

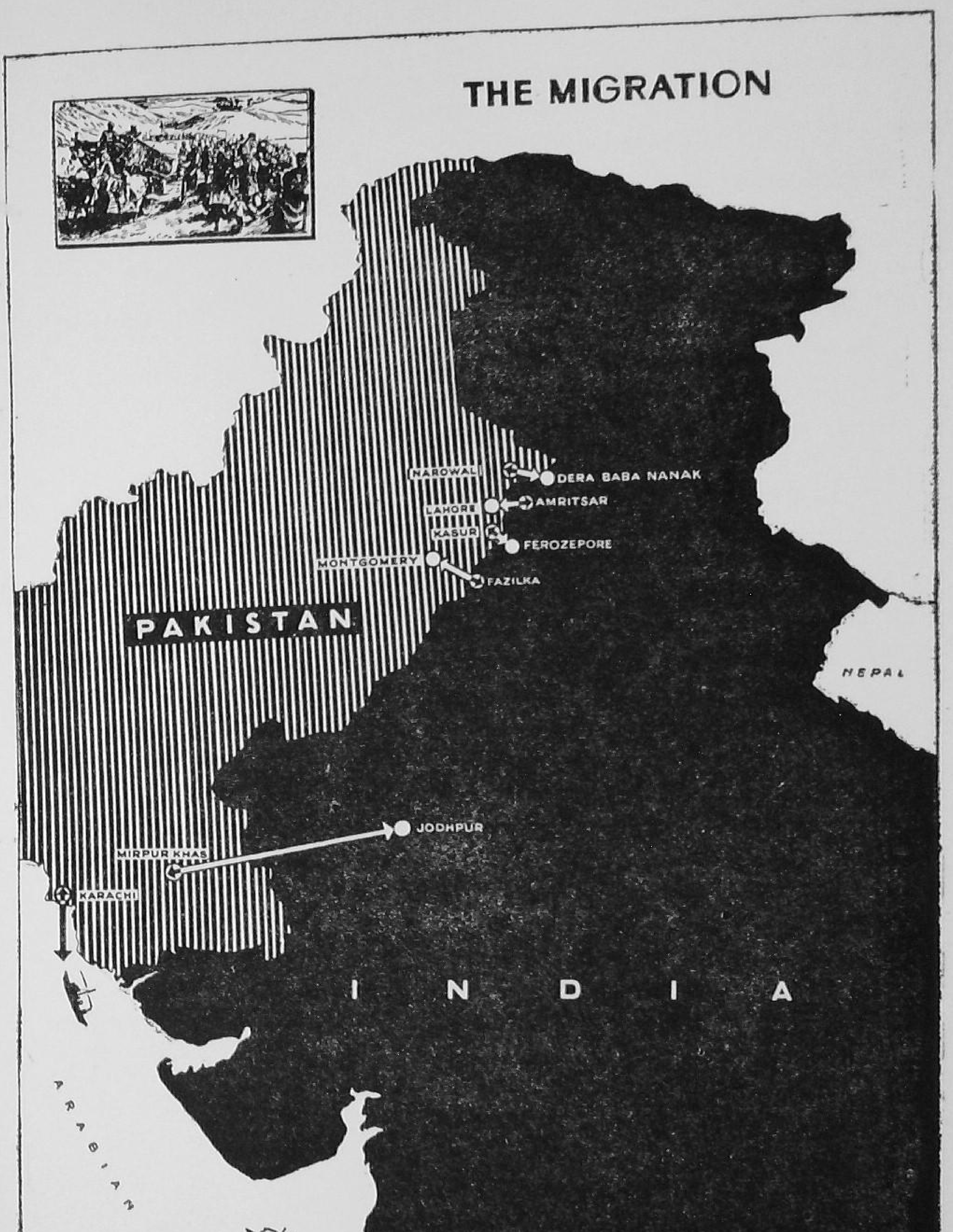
12. GARDEN COLONIES 132
13. RURAL HOUSING SCHEME 152
    (Model Villages).
14. RESTORING A SHATTERED RURAL ECONOMY .. 162
    (Financial Assistance to Displaced Farmers)
15. NEW PATTERNS IN FARMING 172
16. BRIGHTENING THE VILLAGES 188
17. FERMENT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE 202
18. OUT OF THE ASHES 218

ILLUSTRATIONS

Title	Facing page
THE MIGRATION	Title page
ANALYSIS OF MIGRANTS BY COMMUNITY, SEX, AND AGE-GROUP	6
A RECEPTION CAMP FOR REFUGEES IN WEST PUNJAB (PAKISTAN)	26
FOOT COLUMNS OF REFUGEES FLEEING PAKISTAN	28
A CARAVAN OF BULLOCK CARTS RESTING AFTER THE DAY'S MARCH	28
EVACUATION BY TRAINS	29
ROAD BREACHES CAUSED BY FLOODS ADD TO THE MISFORTUNES OF REFUGEES	29
A WIDOW WHO LOST ALL HER FAMILY MEMBERS	30
REUNION OF FATHER AND DAUGHTER ..	30
DERELICTS	30
A JAT SIKH COLONIST FROM JULLUNDUR ..	38
A KAMBOH CULTIVATOR FROM AMRITSAR ..	38
A COLONIST FROM LUDHIANA	38
A JAT SIKH COLONIST FROM AMRITSAR ..	38
A KAMBOH SIKH COLONIST FROM MONTGOMERY	38
A DOGRA COLONIST FROM KANGRA	47
A RAJPUT COLONIST FROM UNA (DISTT. HOSHIARPUR)	48
A JAT SIKH CULTIVATOR FROM GUJRANWALA ..	56
A VIRK FARMER FROM SHEIKHUPURA ..	56
A JAT CULTIVATOR FROM PASRUR (SIALKOT) ..	60
AN ARORA LAND-OWNER FROM MULTAN ..	62
AN ARORA FARMER FROM JHANG	62
AN ARORA LAND-OWNER FROM MUZAFFARGARH	64
A KHATRI LANDLORD FROM JHELUM	64
REFUGEE FARMERS WAITING OUTSIDE THE BARBED WIRE ENCLOSURE OF THE LAND RESETTLEMENT SECRETARIAT AT JULLUNDUR	76
A PETITION WRITER WRITING AN APPLICATION	76

Title	Facing page
PATWARIS AT WORK IN THE TEMPORARY SECRETARIAT AT JULLUNDUR	88
APPLICATIONS FOR REVIEW	91
CLASSIFICATION OF AREAS AVAILABLE AND ABANDONED	94
EVACUEE AREA AND NUMBER OF ALLOTTEES ..	99
ORIGIN AND DISTRIBUTION OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN EAST PUNJAB	110
ALLOCATION OF AREAS DISTRICT-WISE ..	113
EVACUEE HOUSES IN VILLAGES	118
CITRUS FRUITS ARE PRODUCED BY NEW SETTLERS	132
PLANNED ORCHARD IN A GARDEN COLONY ..	141
USE OF TRACTORS BY REFUGEE SETTLERS IN GARDEN COLONIES	145
A CITRUS NURSERY IN A GARDEN COLONY ..	145
MAP SHOWING GARDEN COLONIES	148
A DEMOLISHED EVACUEE VILLAGE	153
TYPICAL LAYOUT OF VILLAGE (TYPE R) OF 100 HOUSES	156
TYPICAL LAYOUT FOR A VILLAGE (TYPE G) FOR 25 HOUSES	157
TYPE PLAN FOR A VILLAGE HOUSE (TYPE B) ..	160
LOANS IN KIND, AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, PERSIAN WHEELS, CANE CRUSHERS, AND CHAFF CUTTERS WERE MANUFACTURED IN THOUSANDS AND DISTRIBUTED AMONG THE LAND ALLOTTEES	164
EVACUEE WELLS IN RURAL AREA ..	169
CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS OPENS NEW VISTAS OF PROSPERITY	184
A CHIMTA IS A COMPLETE ORCHESTRA ..	195
A PEASANT SINGS A FOLK SONG	197
A GADDI BOY PLAYS ON A FLUTE	199
IN THEIR NEW HOMES IN EAST PUNJAB ..	200

THE MIGRATION



CHAPTER I

THE PARTITION

LONG columns of men, women and children carrying bundles on their heads and terror writ large on their faces—these are refugees fleeing from their homes to escape cruelty and oppression in search of shelter and security. We in India were only vaguely familiar with the word 'refugee' and used to wonder why people should be compelled to leave their homes. Even our refugees expressed surprise at the strange phenomenon of the exchange in population and were heard saying "We used to hear about the change of rulers but for the first time the ruled are also changing places". It is a familiar phenomenon which has been taking place over a fairly long period in history, but the difference is in scale. That what was a trickle once has now become a flood. When a group of people feel that on account of their religious beliefs or racial or political differences they can no longer continue in their ancestral homes, they think of migrating to countries where they can live in their own way, and thus become refugees. The Huguenots of France who took refuge in England, the English Quakers who sought sanctuary in America were refugees who left their countries to escape religious persecution. After World War I when the Greeks and Turks fell out and the Turks dreamt of building a national state with a homogeneous population, they started a purge of alien racial elements and expelled thousands of Greeks from Turkey. It was for similar reasons that the Nazis drove the Jews from Germany. Scores of persecuted Jews fled from Germany to escape from the Nazi terror and to seek haven in England and U.S.A. Hundreds of thousands of them migrated to Palestine where they dreamt of building a new life in a national State of their own. They flocked to their traditional spiritual home Palestine from

all countries of Europe where they were persecuted and ultimately succeeded in getting Palestine partitioned. Lacs of Arabs were compelled to leave the part of Palestine which now became the Jewish State of Israel and took shelter in the neighbouring Arab countries. Thus we find that the refugee problem in the twentieth century is closely connected with the rise of the national State based on the race concept of nationalism. In a sense the refugee problem is a bye-product of the National State which in its pursuit of security expells elements upon that, it feels, cannot be relied upon in a time of crisis. After the World War II movement of population on account of differences in political beliefs has also occurred on a fairly large scale. Germans who did not like Communist ideology migrated from the Russia occupied East Germany to West Germany and the communist Germans from Allies-occupied West Germany moved in the opposite direction. The same fate has overtaken millions of people in Korea who are moving in different directions with the marching armies a mass of bewildered men and women who do not know what would be their ultimate fate. Thus we find that refugee problem has been a tragic part of history of many nations and people.

What of India? What forces were let loose here? What tragic fate over-took millions? Let us examine the strangest event in India's history, the partition, which flooded its bisected parts with refugees. The Hindustan-Pakistan plan was announced on the 3rd June, 1947. A new entity called Pakistan emerged on the scene, carved out of India. Sind, N.W.F.P. and 16 districts of Punjab were to form the western half of Pakistan. The remaining 13 districts of the then Punjab were to remain a part of India. The exact boundary line between India and Pakistan was to be demarcated by a Boundary Commission. This new arrangement was to take effect from the 15th August that same year. But except in the disputed border districts like Gurdaspur, Lahore and Ferozepur the people everywhere else knew at this stage on which side of the Boundary Line they had been placed. There had been serious and

widespread communal riots in Punjab during the previous three months and a state of acute communal tension existed. In one or two districts of Rawalpindi Division these riots had even spread to the country side. In the cities the well-to-do families, and others who could conveniently do so, talked of migrating to territories which were to form part of India. But there was very little stir in the rural areas. Because of the aroused communal consciousness the shadow of impending Muslim rule in Pakistan caused some loss of face and prestige to non-Muslims. They envisaged a diminution in their social status vis-a-vis the Muslims and this depressed them a great deal. But the idea of leaving their ancient hearths and homes for good appeared to them as fantastic in the extreme. Whoever left his home at the change of the rulers? They would not have believed it from the mouth of their most gifted astrologer.

In July that year lawyers from both sides argued before the Boundary Commission at Lahore the claims of India and Pakistan to various tahsils and districts of Central Punjab, but strangely enough none of the lawyers even hinted at the possibility of the migration of population. Rival claims of the Sikhs and Hindus on one side and the Muslims on the other for the districts of the Central Punjab were advocated by their leaders with considerable passion, and their emotions were shared by their followers. The Muslims not only claimed the districts of Rawalpindi and Lahore Divisions, but also laid claims to Fazilka and Zira tahsils of Ferozepur district, Nakodar and Jullundur tahsils of Jullundur district, Dasuya tahsil of Hoshiarpur, the entire district of Gurdaspur, as well as Kapurthala State on the ground of numerical preponderance of Muslims in these areas. The Hindus argued for Ravi as the boundary for considerations of strategy, the natural defence, but more so because the entire wealth of the Hindu middle classes were concentrated in the city of Lahore. The Hindus were the owners of nearly all commercial buildings of any importance in Lahore, and banking, insurance and industry owed their progress to their enterprise. The educational institutions of the Hindus, the D. A. V. College, Sanatan

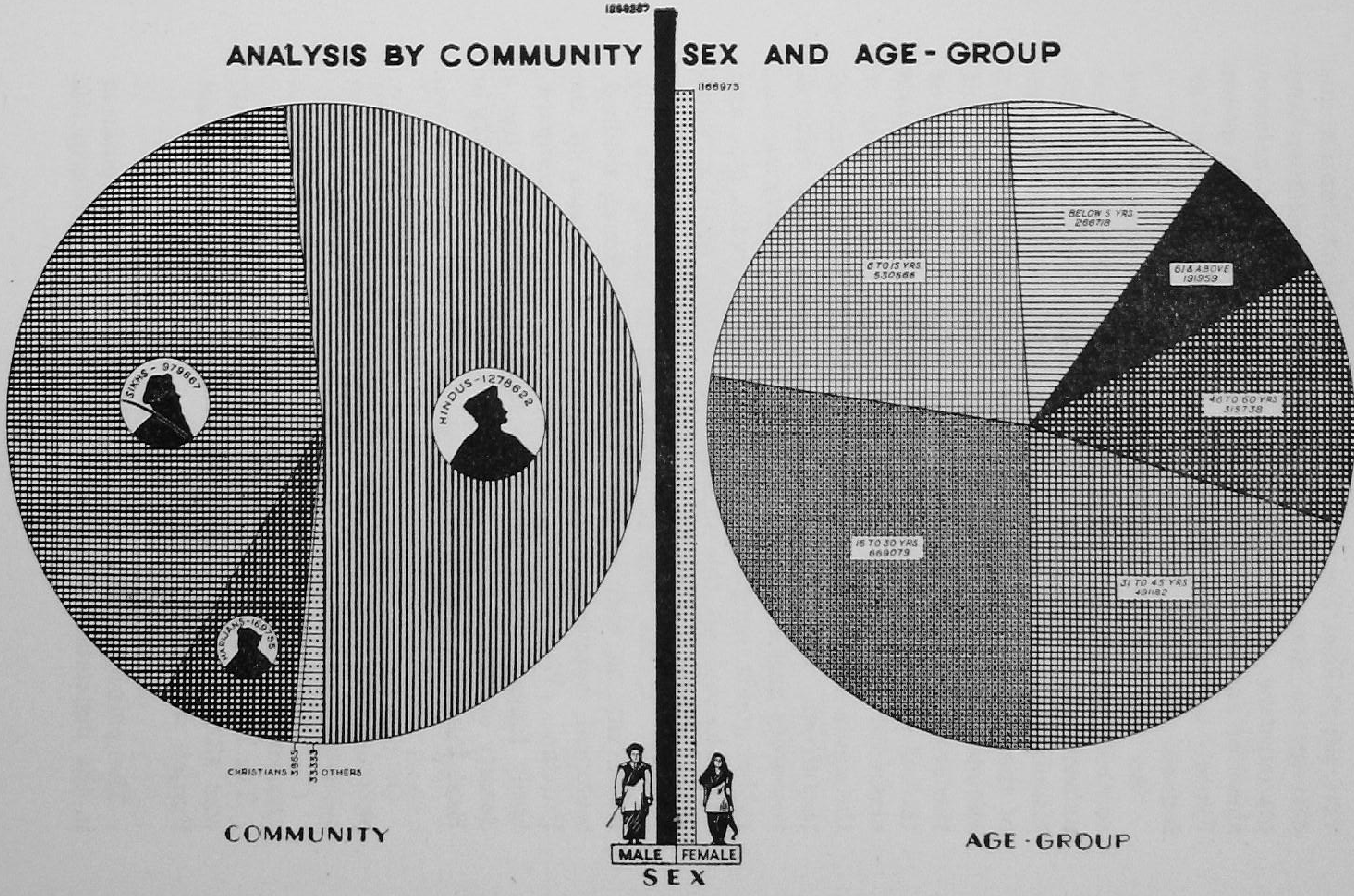
Dharam College and a Medical College were all in Lahore. The inclusion of the region in Pakistan meant, therefore, an enormous loss to the Hindus. It affected the Sikhs, however, even more grievously. Central Punjab is the cradle of Sikhism. The founder of the Sikh faith, Guru Nanak, was born at Talwandi now called Nankana Sahib, in Sheikhupura district. Nankana Sahib, the birth place of Guru Nanak, is held in veneration by the Sikhs, and is as sacred to them as Rome is to the Roman Catholics. The Sikhs also laid claim to the canal colonies of Lyallpur, Montgomery and Sargodha which they had developed with the sweat and toil of a generation. Amongst the conflicting claims of the rival parties, the Boundary Commission had to find a via media which could satisfy at least the moderate elements.

"Finally, the truly controversial ground, according to the Chairman's Report, lay in and around the area between the Beas and the Sutlej rivers on the one hand and the Ravi river on the other. The existence of the canal system and of the network of road and rail communications, which had developed under the conception of a single administration, and the geographical position of Lahore and Amritsar made the task of delimiting the boundary highly difficult." The Radcliffe Award ultimately drew a line as a result of which 13 districts comprising the whole of the Jullundur and Ambala Divisions and the Amritsar district of the Lahore Division as well as three tahsils (Pathankot, Gurdaspur and Batala) of the Gurdaspur district were allocated to East Punjab.

WEST PUNJAB & EAST PUNJAB RESOURCES

Certain features in the economic situation of East Punjab stood out. For long years the best resources of the United Punjab had gone to the development of its western parts so that, at the time of partition, almost all the economic disadvantages were found concentrated in the eastern parts. East Punjab compared ill with West Punjab in the development of commerce and industry, or roads and irrigation, of public amenities and of economic opportunities. Even in

ANALYSIS BY COMMUNITY SEX AND AGE - GROUP



agriculture East Punjab was far behind West Punjab, due perhaps to denser population and smaller holdings and comparative shortage of canal irrigation. The balance-sheet of partition as it affected the Eastern and Western Punjab is given by the authors of "After Partition" as follows :—

"As a result of the partition, East Punjab obtained control over the waters of three out of five rivers of the united Punjab and obtained about 45 per cent of the population, 38 per cent of area, and 31 per cent of the income of the united Province. West Punjab, on the other hand, includes about 55 per cent of the population 62 per cent of the area and controls about 69 per cent of the income of the old province. It has retained the important canals and about 70 per cent of the fertile canal-irrigated tracts of the undivided province as well as the huge revenues earned therefrom. It possesses important forests and mineral resources and a large number of exclusive industries, e.g., rubber-goods, surgical instruments, sports, resin, etc., and has inherited all the shisham plantations and the lion's share of the Province's integrated system of communications. It has been fortunate also in getting the only University as well as the principal educational, medical, technical, veterinary, and agricultural institutions of the Province. West Punjab, has, therefore, emerged comparatively bigger, richer and more food-producing and has a density of just 256.5 square miles as compared with 338 in East Punjab".

Of the irrigated area of the undivided Province, only 26% was situated in East Punjab, while considerable deficit existed in wheat and rice.

THE MUSLIM & NON-MUSLIM POPULATION

The total non-Muslim population of West Punjab in 1941 was 43,51,477 while the total Muslim population of East Punjab was 42,86,755.

The percentage of Muslim and Non-Muslim population in the districts of East and West Punjab is given in the

statement below :—

EAST PUNJAB

District or State	Percentage in total population of		
	Muslims	Sikhs	Rest
Districts			
1. Hissar.	28.2	6.0	64.8
2. Rohtak.	17.2	0.1	81.7
3. Gurgaon.	33.5	..	66.8
4. Karnal.	30.6	2.0	67.0
5. Ambala.	31.6	18.4	48.7
6. Simla.	18.2	2.7	74.3
7. Kangra.	5.1	0.6	94.3
8. Hoshiarpur.	32.5	16.9	49.8
9. Jullundur.	45.2	26.4	27.6
10. Ludhiana.	36.9	41.7	21.4
11. Ferozepore.	45.1	33.7	20.2
12. Amritsar.	46.5	36.1	15.4
13. Gurdaspur.	50.2	19.1	25.2
East Punjab States			
1. Kapurthala.	56.4	25.9	16.3
2. Faridkot.	30.7	57.7	10.9
3. Patiala.	22.6	47.3	30.9
4. Jind.	14.1	11.3	74.2
5. Nabha.	20.7	36.0	42.9
WEST PUNJAB			
Districts			
1. Lahore.	60.7	18.3	16.8
2. Sialkot.	62.1	11.7	19.4
3. Gujranwala.	70.4	10.9	11.9
4. Sheikhupura.	63.6	18.9	10.5
5. Gujrat.	85.6	6.4	7.7
6. Shahpur.	83.7	4.8	10.2
7. Jhelum.	89.5	3.9	6.5
8. Rawalpindi.	80.0	8.2	10.5
9. Attock.	90.5	3.0	6.4
10. Mianwali.	86.2	1.4	12.4
11. Montgomery.	69.1	13.9	15.9
12. Lyallpur.	62.8	18.8	14.6

District or State	Percentage in total population of		
Districts	Muslims	Sikhs	Rest
13. Jhang.	82.6	1.5	15.8
14. Multan.	78.0	4.2	16.9
15. Muzaffargarh.	86.5	0.8	12.8
16. Dera Ghazi Khan.	88.9	0.2	11.7

Now let us examine how the partition of Punjab affected the human population. The Muslim population in the rural areas of East Punjab was mainly comprised of peasant owners, artisans and village servants. The census returns of 1931 showed that the Muslim population of the Punjab was 14.9 millions and of these no less than 4.7 millions or more than one-third, were weavers, cobblers, herdsmen, potters, *mussalis* (sweepers), carpenters, oil-men, beggars, bards, barbers, black-smiths, butchers, washermen and *mirasis.* There were certain occupations such as pottery, weaving, black-smithy, oil pressing, washing and to smaller extent leather work and carpentry in which Muslims for centuries had a predominant position.

The Hindu and Sikh population of West Punjab was very different in character from the indigenous non-Muslim population of East Punjab. The Hindus mostly pursued non-agricultural occupations such as money-lending and trading. It is the rehabilitation of these Hindu shopkeepers from the rural area of West Punjab, which proved to be the toughest problem. How to convert these middle-men rentiers, and money-lenders into productive units? A very difficult problem indeed which arose all of a sudden in its full magnitude, but nevertheless which was worth facing in the larger interest of the country, and these persons themselves, so that they become useful citizens, rather than warts on the face of the countryside. There were large number of non-cultivating Hindu and Sikh landlords in the districts of Rawalpindi Division and even more in the districts of Multan Division for whom ownership of land had been subsidiary to village trading and money-lending. This section of the Hindu population had its land cultivated mainly by Muslim tenants. Theirs was a composite economy from which, through agrarian legislation and the increasing consciousness among the Muslim peasant

and tenant classes of their rights, they were in many areas being slowly ousted. At the time of partition, however, they had on the whole a position in the village economy which was by no means insignificant and afforded a very fair living. In the last category may be mentioned large non-Muslim landholders of whom there were a great many in the Multan Division, in the colony districts and in Gujranwala and Sheikhupura. Mention may also be made of sections of non-Muslim population that lived either by labour or by tenant-farming (Harijans and Rai Sikhs) or by devious pursuits such as *Bazigars*. This is, however not the entire picture, as from certain districts of West Punjab, such as Lahore, Lyallpur, Montgomery, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala and parts of Multan, Shahpur and Gujrat districts came large numbers of peasant farmers. Many of these who came from the canal colonies had their original homes in the districts of East Punjab, more especially in the Jullundur Division. These were the colonists who had gone a generation or so ago into the canal colonies and there, with labour and skill, raised one of the most flourishing systems of agriculture in the world. The rehabilitation of these agriculturists was comparatively an easier problem, though of vast magnitude, and required very careful planning, an efficient organization, and a team of hard-working revenue officials. Such a vast resettlement operation was never attempted in any other country in human history, and it is this work which forms the theme of this book.

CHAPTER 2

THE HOLOCAUST

PAKISTAN was based on the concept of Muslim nationalism and the Two Nation theory, according to which Muslims and Hindus were two separate nations with different cultural traditions and religions, each entitled to a separate home-land where they could be free to develop according to their genius. The founder of Pakistan made it pretty clear that in his Islamic State, the minorities had no place and that if they desired at all to live in Pakistan they could do so only at the sufferance of the Muslim nation. It was as early as 1942 that Ch. Rahmat Ali, who is regarded as the original author of the Pakistan plan enunciated this concept in "The Millat and the Mission":—

"Avoid Minorityism, which means that we must not leave our minorities in Hindu lands, even if the British and the Hindus offer them the so-called constitutional safeguards. For no safeguards can be a substitute for nationhood which is their birthright. Nor must we keep Hindu or Sikh minorities in our own lands, even if they themselves were willing to remain with or without any special safeguards. For they will never be of us. Indeed, while in ordinary times they will retard our national reconstruction, in times of crisis they will betray us and bring about our re-destruction".

Addressing a Press Conference at Karachi in November, 1946, Mr. Jinnah stated that "the authorities, both Central and Provincial, should take up immediately the question of exchange of population." With the acceptance of the Pakistan plan Mr. Jinnah repeated his proposal for exchange of population, which was, however, ridiculed as impracticable. However, the founders of Pakistan had no doubts in their minds as to how this exchange was to be brought about. Even before the acceptance of the

Pakistan plan, printed and cyclostyled circulars were secretly distributed among the Muslims of the Punjab in which they were asked to burn and loot Hindu property and to kill the Sikhs. The Muslims regarded the Sikhs as their main enemies, for they were virile opponents who were bitterly opposed to the partition of the Punjab on the ground that their religious places of historical importance were situated in West Punjab and that their canal irrigated lands were also there. The Muslims regarded the Sikhs as their enemies on historical grounds also. As Mr. G. D. Khosla, Chairman of the Fact Finding Organization set up by the Government of India, observes:—

"The Sikhs had opposed the partition of India with even greater vigour than the Hindus, because they felt that as a community they could only expect disaster in Pakistan; it was, therefore, against the Sikhs that the spear-point of the Muslim League attack was first aimed. In the March riots, the Sikhs of Rawalpindi faced annihilation and large number of them left the district. Within a few weeks almost the entire Sikh population (save those who were killed or converted) had migrated from the district".

The looting and burning of villages, conversions, and murders soon convinced the Hindus and Sikhs of West Punjab that choice before them was to be killed, converted, or to be expelled from their home-land. By the first week of September it was clear that the entire Hindu and Sikh population had to quit West Punjab. In his letter dated the 5th September, 1947, Sir Francis Mudie, Governor of West Punjab thus writes to Mr. Jinnah :—

"I expect trouble in all the western districts. The refugee problem is assuming gigantic proportions. The only limit that I can see to it is that set by the Census reports. According to reports, the movement across the border runs into a "lakh" or so a day. At "Chuharkana" in the Sheikhupura district I saw between a "lakh" and a "lakh" and a half of Sikhs collected in the town and round it, in the houses, on the roofs and everywhere. It was exactly like the Magh Mela in Allahabad. It will take 45 trains to move them, even at 4,000 people per train; or, if they are to stay there, they will have to be given 50 tons of

ata a day. At Govindgarh in the same district there was a collection of 30,000 or 40,000 Mazhbi Sikhs with arms. They refused even to talk to the Deputy Commissioner, an Anglo-Indian, who advanced with a flag of truce. They shot at him and missed. Finally arrangements were made to evacuate the lot. I am telling every one that I don't care how the Sikhs get across the border; the great thing is to get rid of them as soon as possible. There is still little sign of 3 "lakh" Sikhs in Lyallpur moving, but in the end they too will have to go".

What happened in the rural areas of West Punjab is of particular interest to us. Looting and burning of villages commenced towards the end of August, and continued through the month of September. Kidnapping and raping of young girls and young married women was also a common occurrence. In the Sikh evening prayer called "Ardasa" which can be heard in every Sikh home and temple, the congregation is reminded of the sacrifices of Sikh men and women during the terrible years of "Ghaloo-ghara" (1716-1738) in the reign of Furrukhseer. There was price on the head of every Sikh and those who got captured were subjected to diabolical tortures, such as severance of limbs, removal of eyes, and skull. Children were cut into pieces and their hacked remains thrown into the laps of their mothers. With the lapse of time all these mediaeval tortures were regarded as exaggerations. However, what happened in August—September 1947, revived the forgotten memories of "Ghaloo-ghara". Numerous murders took place in the districts of Lahore Division. In Multan and Rawalpindi Divisions conversions to Islam and abduction of women were more common. Now let us examine the fate of prominent villages which invited the wrath of the Pakistanis. It is a tale of horrors which makes one's flesh creep, and will not at all make a pleasant reading, but all the same it is worth recording, lest we forget the blood-curdling experiences of our refugees. It may also be mentioned that it was not all a one-sided affair, for similar gruesome events were also happening on our side of the border though on a smaller scale. The ape in humanity was revealing himself in naked brutality, and humanity sank to such depths that

posterity will remember these events with shame and horror. While rapine and murders were a common occurrence, the better side of humanity also revealed itself. In rare cases Muslim friends and neighbours sheltered their Hindu and Sikh friends, sometimes even at considerable personal risk to themselves and their families for the hooligans will not even spare Muslims who sheltered the "Kaffirs". Figures for casualties are based on the data collected by the Fact Finding Organization set up by the Government of India.

SHEIKHUPURA DISTRICT

In Sheikhupura district villages Jatri Vikran, Bhullair, Gangapur, Chak No. 5 and Bahalwala suffered most. On 21-8-47, 400 persons were murdered in Jatri Vikran, and 650 were murdered in Bhullair and 500 in Gangapur. On 17-9-47, 500 were killed, 70 injured, and 30 converted in Chak No. 5. Bahalwala suffered most with 1,000 killed, 500 injured and 100 kidnapped or abducted. Sheikhupura has become a by-word for the suffering undergone by its Hindu and Sikh population, and also for the heroic resistance put up by the villagers, particularly those of Bhullair, which has already been commemorated in folk memory in the form of song and story as 'Saka of Bhullair'. Let us quote Mr. Khosla again.

"The British Government had declared that the interest of the Sikh community would receive special consideration in determining the mode of partition and demarcating the boundary line between India and Pakistan. The district of Sheikhupura was a Muslim majority area, Muslims numbered 63.62 per cent of the total population, but the Sikhs formed a substantial minority comprising 18.85 per cent of the total population. They were almost mainly responsible for the agricultural development of the district and had important religious and cultural associations in Nankana Sahib, the birth-place of Guru Nanak, the founder of the Sikh religion, and in Sacha Sauda, an important shrine glorifying piety of his childhood days. The fears of the non-Muslims in the district were therefore somewhat allayed by the hope that the Boundary Commission would allot

the district to India and they would be permitted to keep their homes and lands. For this reason no large-scale exodus from Sheikhupura took place before August 17, on which date the Radcliffe Award was announced and a stampede for safety began. The minorities were taken at a disadvantage, arrangements for evacuation could not be made immediately, every possible obstacle was placed in their way by the civil administration and the military and for several days no escape was possible; and, while men, women, and children, uprooted from their homes, ran hither and thither like hunted animals and crowded into refugee camps, a most ruthless campaign of murder, rape, arson and loot was launched upon them. Wherever they went horror and despair faced them; bloodthirsty gangs of marauders confronted them on the country roads, in towns, in refugee camps, even in trains. Sheikhupura became a by-word during the months that followed. In West Punjab Muslim hooligans used it to intimidate the minorities into handing over their property, accepting Islam or quitting their homes. "If you do not do as you are told," they said, "we shall enact another Sheikhupura here." The horror and wrath which it continued to evoke in the hearts of the non-Muslims for months afterwards cannot be gauged by a future student of history. Nothing of this nature or on this scale had ever taken place in India, and understanding is staggered at the depth and extent of the murderous fury displayed alike by the unruly Muslim hooligans and the disciplined Police and Army personnel stationed at Sheikhupura."

"The total death roll at Sheikhupura has been variously estimated between eight thousand and twenty-five thousand. A conservative estimate based on the evidence of the most reliable witnesses would put the figure at about ten thousand."

"Some shops in Chuharkana were burnt on August 20, but a major tragedy was averted by the arrival of some non-Muslim military officers. In Chak No. 10 four hundred men were killed in the course of an assault by a Muslim mob accompanied by Pakistan military. Over a hundred young girls were kidnapped. Bhullair and Jandiala Sher Khan

were attacked in a similar manner. Several foot convoys of non-Muslims were attacked in different parts of the district. A railway train was attacked near Moman and fifty non-Muslims were killed. Their dead bodies were thrown in the canal. Some of them were recovered the next day by the residents of Sangla. All twenty passengers in a truck, escorted by Baluch soldiers, were done to death on their way to Lahore. Their dead bodies were found lying in the canal by a foot caravan. A large party of non-Muslims from Sheikhwan was attacked on September 3 and, in the course of the attack, forty persons lost their lives, a hundred more were injured and fourteen girls were kidnapped."

SHAHPUR DISTRICT

"A peculiar feature of the district" says Mr. Khosla, "was that forcible conversions took place on a very large scale in the rural areas. The Hindus found themselves greatly outnumbered and, when given the offer of conversion to Islam as the price of safety, had no other choice but to submit. In some villages they were able to live in peace after their decision but, when they were evacuated to India under military escort, they had to leave behind all their belongings".

JHANG DISTRICT

In district Jhang 300 were killed in Rampur. In district Multan 500 were killed in Chak No. 509. In district Muzaffargarh 200 were killed in village Govindpura, 400 in Ghazi Ghat and a large number in Sikhan-di-Basti.

MONTGOMERY DISTRICT

In district Montgomery large number were killed at Basidpur, Chak No. 105 and Chak No. 47/5L.

LYALLPUR DISTRICT

In district Lyallpur 200 were killed in Chak No. 58. Otherwise this district fared better than others, possibly on account of the fact that the Sikh population was well-armed.

In district Rawalpindi 175 were killed in Choha Khalsa and 85 converted. In district Jhelum 100 were killed in Rohtas. These casualties took place in the riots of the month of March. In district Mianwali 500 were killed in Piplan. In district Dera Ghazi Khan 200 were killed in Jhog Utra.

SIALKOT DISTRICT

According to Mr. Khosla, "Rioting in the rural areas of Sialkot district started on August 14." Every village in the district was attacked by mobs of Muslim hooligans. In many instances the mobs were led by members of the Muslim League National Guards or police officials. The pattern of the assault was the same everywhere with a few variations prompted by individual genius or the peculiarity of local conditions. In some cases the local Muslims promised safety and protection to the non-Muslim residents and swore upon the Quran that no harm would come to them; but, when the village was attacked by men from the neighbouring villages, these promises were forgotten and the local Muslims joined the marauders in looting and murdering their co-villagers. In other villages heavy bribes were demanded and paid, but this only increased the greed of the bribe-takers, and the non-Muslim residents were soon afterwards robbed of everything they had. Conversion to Islam was frequently offered as the price of safety, and if the victims exhibited any reluctance or religious scruples they were subjected to duress and torture. The hair of Sikhs were cut off, their beards were trimmed and beef was cooked and forced down their throats. Some of them were circumcised. Young women and girls were molested and carried away. Reason and decency were completely banished by fanatical zeal; and young innocent girls were raped in public. In one village the relations of a girl were made to stand around in a ring while she was raped by several men in succession. Parties of non-Muslims running away from such horrible scenes were set upon and murdered. Even when armed escorts accompanied these parties there was no respite from these ordeals; in fact, the guards were not unwilling to share in the loot. When the refugees

reached the banks of the Ravi and safety appeared to be within sight, the problem of crossing the river presented serious difficulties. Heavy rains had made the river unfordable, boats were rarely available and the Muslim boatmen demanded exorbitant fares. Delays occurred and, while the refugees waited, they were attacked by Muslim hooligans. In some cases a whole week had to be spent, out in the open, without food or shelter. Young children and old men could not survive exposure and starvation during the monsoon months, and large numbers of them died. Trains were stopped and attacked on the way. Their passage was delayed, and food and drink were deliberately withheld from the unfortunate passengers. Appeals for a drop of water were met with the argument that the water of Pakistan would disagree with the stomachs of those who were running away to India.

A mob of armed Muslims raided Rajiana Rattan on August 22, 1947, at 9 a.m. An Assistant Sub-Inspector of Police and twelve police constables accompanied the mob. The non-Muslims of the village were asked to embrace Islam if they wanted to live peacefully. They had to make their decision within two hours and inform the Assistant Sub-Inspector. They met in a *haveli* to discuss the matter and decided against conversion. Torrential rain coming at this juncture drove the Muslims to seek shelter in houses. The non-Muslims ran out and hid themselves in the fields near the village. As soon as the rain stopped, the Muslims came out and plundered the empty houses. They then went out to the fields in order to round up the non-Muslims. Ten of them were killed but the rest were able to escape to Jammu State.

On August 23, the non-Muslims of village Gol decided to leave their homes on hearing persistent rumours of attacks on the neighbouring villages. A large party of them left at noon, but they had gone only a short distance when they were confronted by a mob of armed Muslims accompanied by some policemen and military soldiers. They ran back to the village, and took shelter in the house of Chaudhry Raghbir Singh Zaildar. The Zaildar took his gun and climbed up to the roof. The house was surrounded by the

Muslims and the Zaildar was shot dead. Some of the hooligans went up to the roof, made a hole in the ceiling and dropped a number of bombs inside. Many people were killed and injured. Some opening the door, ran out. These, too, were attacked. Others hid themselves in the fields till it was dark, and then they walked to the river Ravi and succeeded in being taken across.

On August 17, five thousand non-Muslims drawn from thirty-two villages went to the Daska Camp and after staying there for a fortnight started for Dera Baba Nanak, escorted by the Pakistan military. The convoy arrived at Alipur Saidan Railway Station, and stopped there for the night. A mob of two hundred Muslims, armed with fire arms, spears, and swords, had come to Alipur Saidan the previous day, and they were entertained by the local Muslims. They planned to attack the non-Muslims camping at the station. When the convoy left in the morning the Muslim mob attacked it. The military escort joined the mob, and the attack continued for two hours and a half. Eight hundred non-Muslims were killed, and seventy were injured. A number of girls were kidnapped. Property valued at several thousand rupees was looted. The providential arrival of a train from Sialkot enabled two thousand of the survivors to leave Alipur Saidan. The rest had to be left behind for lack of accommodation in the train. These were saved by some Hindu soldiers who arrived on the following day and escorted them to Dera Baba Nanak".

In Sialkot district, Kuluwal, Kanjrur Dattan, Shahzaida, Phorpian, Baddomali and Dalaki were the villages which suffered most. In Kuluwal 600 persons were killed and 200 injured by the Muslim mob assisted by Muslim League National Guards. In Kanjrur Dattan, 500 were killed, 300 injured, 80 converted, and 300 kidnapped or abducted. In Shahzaida, 900 were killed, 50 injured, and 125 kidnapped or abducted. In Mallah, 400 were killed, and 60 injured. In Phorpian, 600 were killed, in Dalaki 500 were killed and in Baddomali 1,000 were killed and 600 converted.

LAHORE DISTRICT

In village Deo Sid in Lahore district 400 persons were killed and many injured.

GUJRANWALA DISTRICT

In district Gujranwala, Bhango suffered most with 1,000 killed.

* * *

GUJRAT DISTRICT

In Gujrat district, Nowshera Miana, Nizamabad, Jalalpur Jattan, Bhairowal, Bahaudin, and Dinga suffered most. Large numbers were killed in Nowshera Miana, Jalalpur Jattan, and Dinga. In Nizamabad, 700 were killed, 200 injured, and 200 converted. In Bhairowal, 1,400 were killed and in Bahaudin 500 were killed. However, it was not everywhere a tame affair. The Sikh villagers, particularly those with a sprinkling of ex-military men put up a gallant resistance even against heavy odds, thus saving themselves from the jaws of death. Wherever they were isolated, and overwhelmed, they killed their wives and daughters with their own hands to save their honour from the Muslim raiders, and then fought bravely courting a glorious death. The attacks on Hindu and Sikh villages formed the same pattern almost everywhere. A rumour was spread that Sikhs were going to attack, and cries of "Sikhs have come! —Sikhs have come!" were used for rallying the Muslim mobs. With the beating of drums the mobs swelled, and when they were in overwhelming numbers they selected their victims for attack. Villages which were reputed to be well-armed were not touched and the weak and unarmed, defenceless villages were the target of these mobs. Here is a story of Chak No. 26, a village in Gujrat, populated by Labana Sikhs, told by Lambardar Sant Singh.[1]

"Chak No. 26 was a Sikh Chak colonised by Sikh Rajputs of the Rathor clan, popularly known as Labana Sikhs. It was populated by two thousand Sikhs and a few Muslim "kamins" or tenants. The adjoining villages of Chak No. 23, Chak No. 25, Chak No. 36, Jara, Sat Basal, Chak No. 11, Mona, Chak Makoh, etc., were all predominantly Muslim. Prior to the formation of Pakistan, the relations between the Sikhs and the Muslims were cordial and friendly. Between June 3 and August 15, the Muslim attitude towards the Sikhs steadily changed. They felt that the Sikhs were

[1] Khosla G.D. — Stern Reckoning — p. 157-160.

aggrieved and would not put up with Pakistan. The agitation by the Sikhs that they would not be content with partition unless the boundary were demarcated along the river Chenab greatly annoyed the Muslims, and they began looking upon the Sikhs as the stumbling block in their way. We, the Sikhs, were undoubtedly aggrieved as the result of the partition but we trusted the professions of friendship by the Muslims and their pretentions to protect the minorities.

"In order to ward off an attack in the event of any disturbance, the villagers had taken the following precautions. They had built a surrounding wall 7 feet high round the village 'abadi' which extended over two squares of land and a ditch, 4 feet deep beyond the wall. There were four openings in the wall with "pucca" doors. A "Shahidi Jatha" had been organized with Jathedars and duties were assigned to them. We had sent out spies into the Muslim villages to find out their plans.

"On August 15, a meeting was convened by Jahan Khan, an M.L.A. and a prominent Muslim League worker of Basal village. The Sub-Inspector of Miana Gondal was also in the meeting. On August 16, one Mohammad Shafi, a compounder of the Civil Hospital, who held me in great respect, informed me that it was not possible for Sikhs to remain in the district any longer. We sent Sant Singh, Dewan Singh, Gurmukh Singh, Budh Singh, Lambardars and Giani Takhat Singh, Thakar Singh and Bhag Singh to Mona, the Army Remount Depot, to inform the Officer Commanding about the schemes of the Muslims and ask for assistance in the event of an attack. The Officer promised his help.

"On August 17, friendly messages came from the neighbouring villages that our chak was in danger. On that day, Prem Singh Nihang, who had lands in Chak No. 21, was returning home with his two sons, aged 12 and 13, when he was attacked by a number of Muslims. The two boys ran into the *rakh* close by but Prem Singh was set upon and shot dead. When the boys came to our village and told us of the attack I went with the Sub-Inspector of Police who had come to our village by chance, to Chak No. 21, and found Prem Singh's dead body lying on the road. The

Sub-Inspector then went away. On the night between August 17 and 18, we heard the beating of drums, which was the signal for the attack. Large crowds of Muslims were seen collecting in the neighbouring villages.

"We organized our defence in the following way. Two hundred men of the Akal Regiment were posted in batches of fifty each on the four gates in the wall. All the women were armed with "kirpans". They wore male dress, i.e., turbans on their heads and salwars round their waists. "Thalis" (metal dishes) were tied on the chest by way of shields. One hundred women were detailed to supply water to the defenders. The men were divided in two parts. Half were placed in front of the women and half behind them. The building of the village Gurdwara is a tall one, and a Sikh was posted on top with a telescope. The Muslim mob was seen to possess ladders, camels and spades besides all kinds of firearms and lethal weapons.

"According to our plan we had to remain on the defensive, but when we saw that the Muslim mob was very large and strong we changed our tactics. We also began to beat the *dhol maru* (battle drum) and came out of our fortress. This made the Muslims think, and Jahan Khan sent us a message through Mohammad Din Lohar that we should send four of our men to talk to four of their men and come to terms. The two parties met half-way and Jahan Khan said, 'It is Muslim Raj now. Pakistan has been established. We are the rulers and the Hindus *raiyat.* The Sikhs will have to fly the Pakistan flag and obey the orders and injunctions of the Muslim Government and pay them land revenue and other dues.' We replied that we would obey all just and honourable orders but nothing beyond that. In reply to our question Jahan Khan said that he heard of Sikh attacks on several villages but that the news was found to be false. He then agreed to go back and the mob retreated.

"Mr. Lich, who was the Commanding Officer posted at the Mona Remount Depot, now arrived on the scene with a contingent of sepoys, but returned on seeing that the Muslim mob was retreating.

"We again sent four men (including myself) on horse-

back to Mona Depot to ask for an escort to evacuate us from the village. We were met by a number of Muslims on the way and told to return home. We said that we are going to Police officers in Chak No. 28. A little further we met another group of seven Muslims who tried to attack us. We opened fire on them and they ran away. We finally reached Mona and saw the officer in charge. He gave us four trucks and these, doing two trips daily, began to transport the men of our village. We were not allowed to take any luggage as there was no room in the trucks. We could only take a few clothes, rations and ornaments.

"On August 24, the Sub-Inspector of Police ordered that further evacuation should stop as the Sikhs and the Sikh military sepoys had burnt alive some Muslims and set their houses on fire. At this stage three hundred men were left in Chak No. 26. They were expected to bring some of the valuable property with them. The Sub-Inspector came to the village with a posse of armed police and stopped the evacuation. The sound of drums was again heard from Muslim villages and the Sikhs formed a "morcha" for their defence. A mob of fifteen hundred Muslims armed with .303 rifles attacked the village in the evening at about 8 p.m. The firing started and went on for a long time. The Sikhs had to take shelter in the Gurdwara. The mob entered the village. Bullets pierced through the walls of Gurdwara. The Sikhs became desperate and came out to fight. One hundred of them were killed and fifty injured. The remaining one hundred and fifty escaped and reached Mona. Our houses and the Gurdwara were looted and burnt".

BAHAWALPUR STATE

In Bahawalpur State, 4,000 were killed in Chishtian, 1,500 in Risalpur, 800 in Qaimpur, 1,000 in Shekhwahan, and 700 in Dera Bakhan. According to Mr. Khosla, "The Nawab was away in England and did not return till October 1, by which date, out of a total of two and a half lakhs non-Muslims, only about seven thousand were left alive in the State. Between seventy and eighty thousand had migrated to India and the rest (one lakh) could not be accounted for."

In retrospect in the calm atmosphere of today it is difficult to conceive how people everywhere decided to abandon their homes and lands for good. Actually this decision was only a matter of few hours everywhere. The period of uncertainty when 'to go or not to go' was the question was generally short. The fatal decision was not long delayed, as the ring of death and destruction closed in from all sides. The hand that was sowing the seed in the fields in the morning was hurriedly packing in the afternoon. The non-Muslim population, like populations everywhere else, had faced difficulties before, but this was an unprecedented experience. There was no body that they could turn to for help, nowhere that they could go for justice. Thus the only choice before them was to say good-bye to the land of their birth.

CHAPTER 3

THE EXODUS

SPREADING across the border was India—the land of hope and promise, where they could live a free life again, and preserve their self-respect and honour. And towards India the Hindus and Sikhs started moving. The migration of population from West Pakistan into India and "vice versa", which started as a trickle after 15th August, 1947, became a torrent in a few weeks. Lakhs of people were uprooted from their ancestral homes. The entire Hindu and Sikh population of West Punjab was on the move and migrated to East Punjab, and also spilled into the adjoining areas of Delhi and the United Provinces. The evacuation of some 50 lac non-Muslims from West Pakistan is a heroic feat of organization under most difficult circumstances. Since transport as well as protection from hostile element all round had to be provided, the job was entrusted to the army who set up the Military Evacuation Organization, popularly called the M.E.O. In the beginning it had its headquarters at Amritsar, but these were later shifted to Lahore for closer liaison with Pakistan Government. The M.E.O. was set up in the beginning of September, 1947. A few lacs had, however, trekked into East Punjab before it started functioning effectively. Thus, 4,00,000 Sikhs and Hindus had crossed over to Fazilka in Ferozepur district on the India side of the border, 2,00,000 to Khalra, 3,50,000 to Amritsar, and 2,50,000 to Dera Baba Nanak in Gurdaspur district by the third week of September.

By this time the remaining non-Muslim population had pooled itself into refugee camps in different districts which were guarded by units of army. The biggest of these camps were the ones at Lyallpur and Chuharkana in Sheikhupura district with 2,00,000 persons each. The job of the Military Evacuation Organization was to move

A reception camp for refugees in West Punjab (Pakistan).

into India the population of these refugee camps in West Punjab. All means of transport like motor vehicles, trains and aeroplanes were employed.

Trains evacuated the largest number of refugees. Rail transport was organized by creating a pool in consultation with the West Punjab authorities. About 50 to 60 trains were moved every ten days in either direction. The trains in those days presented a memorable spectacle with the bogies choked with human beings, and the refugees sitting on the roofs and footboards, and even clinging to buffer spaces and undersides of carriages. It is estimated that between August, 1947, and November, 1947, about 673 refugee trains were run, carrying 27,99,368 refugees inside India and across the border. Although trains had the advantage of covering long distances and being commodious, they were often unduly delayed because of the divided command and were also sometimes attacked.

The road transport was organised under the Military Evacuation Organization. Apart from military vehicles, civilian trucks were also requisitioned from East Punjab and U. P. and about 1200 vehicles were thus collected. This organization served as a feeder to rail transport by collecting refugees from out of the way places in West Punjab. Over 427,000 persons were carried by these vehicles by the middle of December, 1947, and in all 12 lakh refugees were moved by road transport.

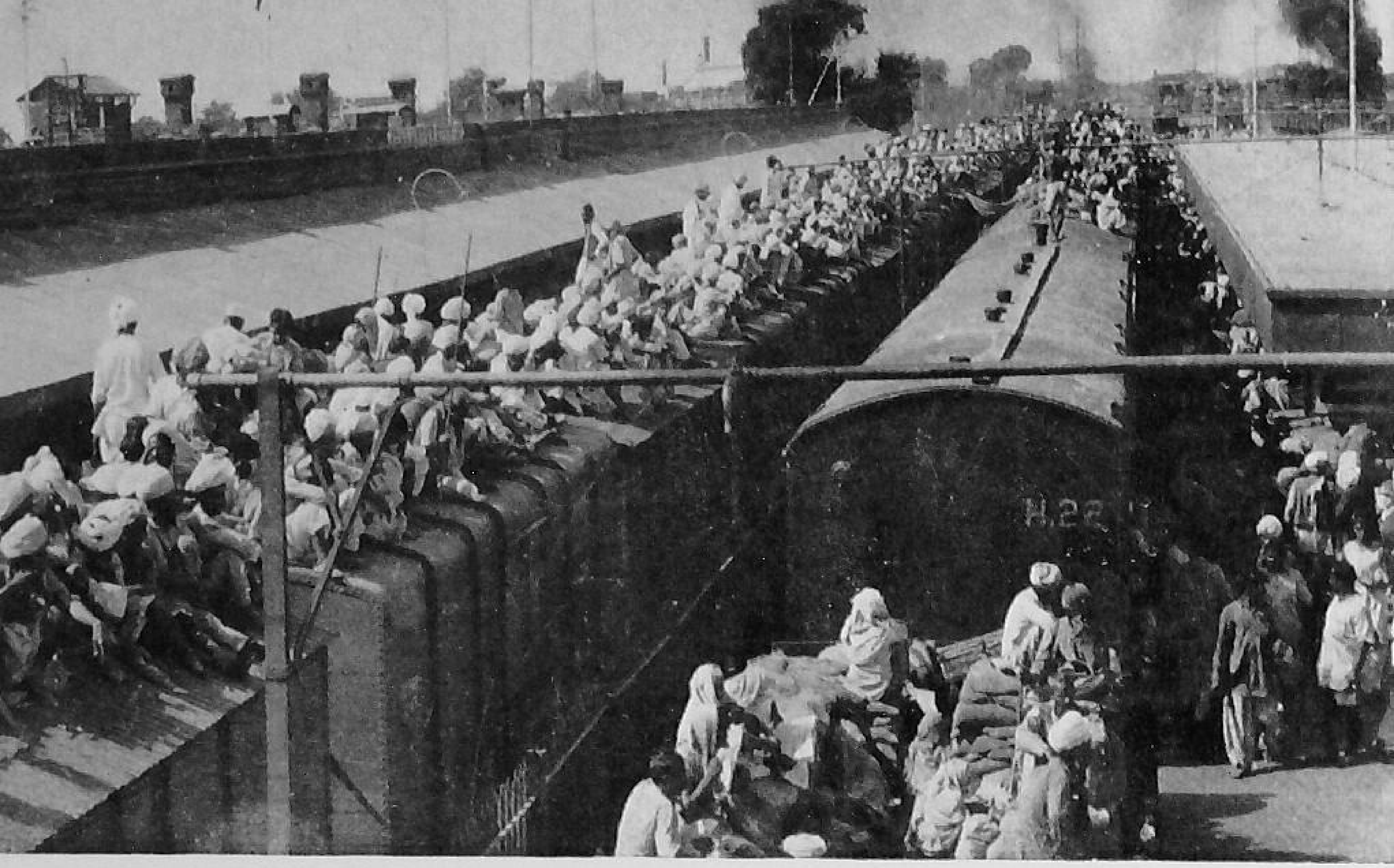
But the easiest means as also the most popular with rural people was the foot convoy. These convoys enabled them to bring with them their bullock-carts and cattle. The route for these convoys was the Lyallpur-Balloke-Chunian-Ferozepur road. The major portion of the population of districts of Lyallpur, Montgomery, Sheikhupura and Sialkot was evacuated by means of organized convoys. From September 18 to October, 29, 1947, as many as 24 non-Muslim foot convoys, totalling 849,000 souls with hundreds of bullock carts and thousands of cattle crossed over to India. Arrangements were made for feeding these convoys during transit by moving with them truck loads of parched gram, wheat atta and gur.

Marching along with the caravans of bullock-carts were

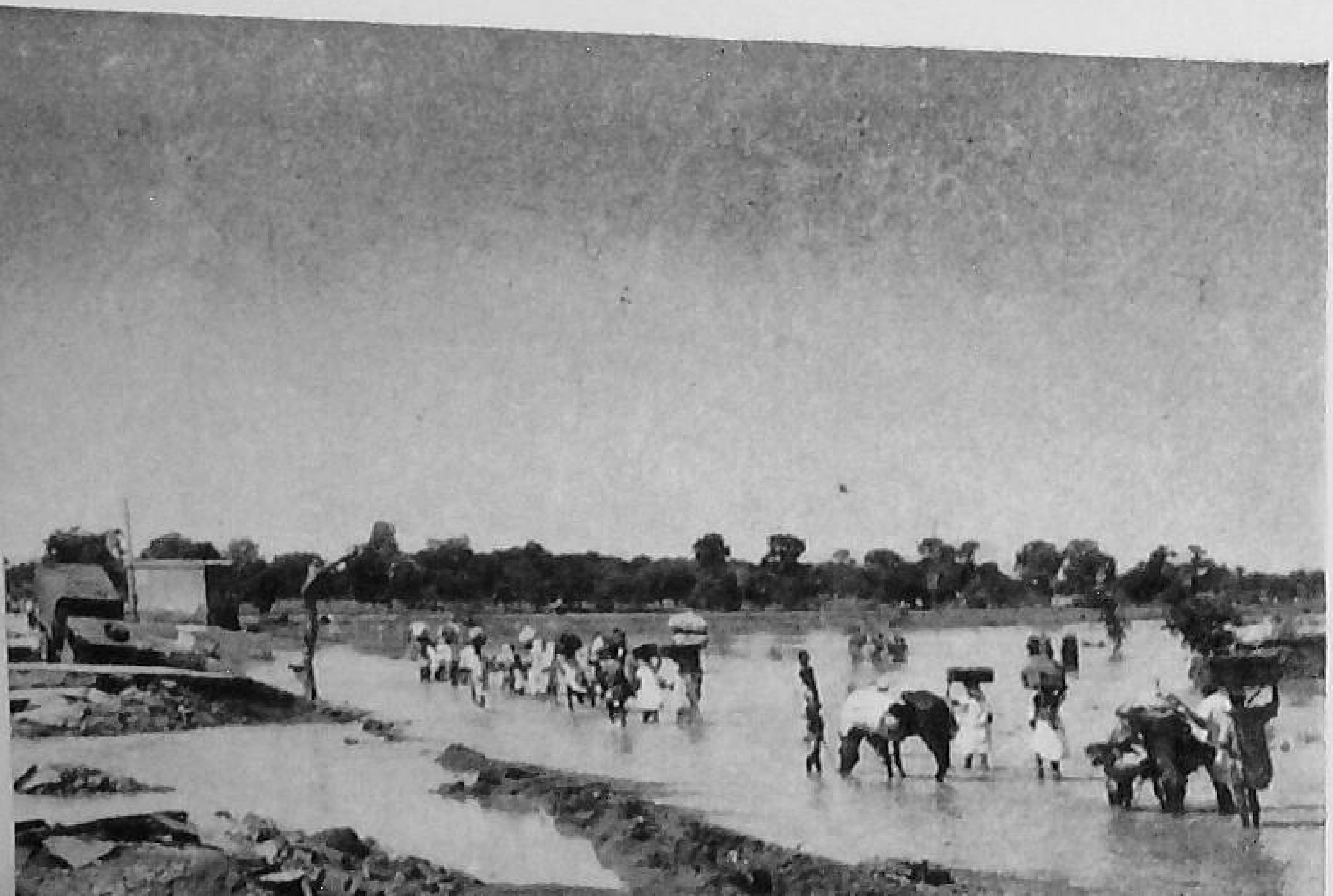
foot-columns of refugees. Some of them had placed their bundles in bullock carts, others not so fortunate carried them on their heads. Among them were landless labourers, Harijans, and village workers, who did not possess any bullock carts of their own, and were accompanying their co-villagers. The main arterial roads were choked with men, women and children as well as bullock carts and cattle. It was a seething mass of humanity stretched over a span of 80 miles of the road consisting of at least half a million souls moving towards India urged onwards by a relentless destiny. But for the tragic circumstances under which this human flood was moving, it was a grand and awe-inspiring spectacle, the kind of which had not been seen for centuries in human history. Few showed pity for age or sex, and many aged or infirm persons who could not walk were deserted by their relations and left to die on the roadside. Mothers threw their new-born babes in bushes along the roadside, and left them to die. Vultures and pariah-dogs gorged themselves with the flesh of human carcases. Perched on the mutilated stems of trees, the vultures presented an eerie spectacle. The urge among the columns was to escape from Pakistan and to cover the journey in the quickest possible time. Safety was only in movement, as gangs of looters and armed mauraders were hovering like vultures, and made short work of stragglers. Some of these caravans were fairly well-armed with weapons legal as well as illegal. During the day time the arms were concealed under the bundles of their belongings in bullock carts, and at night time these were taken out for the sake of protection. The caravans of bullock carts, as well as foot columns travelled by day and bivouacked along the roadside at night time. On the average, they covered 15 to 20 miles a day. To feed the cattle, they cut fodder from the fields along the roadside, mostly belonging to Hindus and Sikhs who were on the move. Although these convoys were protected by mobile units of army, they were attacked a number of times because it was not possible for these units to be present everywhere on the scores of miles long route. The Lyallpur-Balloki-Chunian-Ferozepur road was the funnel through which approximately 50 to 60 thousand

Foot columns of refugees fleeing Pakistan.

A caravan of bullock carts resting after the day's march.



Evacuation by trains.



Road breaches caused by floods add to the misfortunes of refugees.

refugees poured into Ferozepur every day. From September, 18, to October, 29, 1947, as many as 8,49,000 refugees with hundreds of bullock carts and thousands of cattle crossed over to India.

As if the cup of their miseries was not full to the brim, torrential rains and floods further added to their misfortunes. On account of road breaches caused by floods, convoys were held up for a number of days. The floods washed away roads, railway tracks, and bridges, and disorganized transport and communications. Their bullocks, bullock-carts, cattle as well as belongings were either washed away or looted. During these compulsory halts large number of cattle died of starvation. Large areas in Ferozepur City and Cantonment were submerged under water, and the refugees who were camping in low-lying areas suffered untold miseries. The rains and floods were followed by the scourge of cholera epidemic which threatened to wipe out entire camps. It was in such circumstances that evacuation was organized and relief camps established.

In the earliest days of the great migration when it was not known whether the refugees were coming to India for temporary shelter or for permanent rehabilitation, food was supplied to them by the residents of East Punjab. The various public bodies organised catering arrangements, and thousands of maunds of *rotis* were distributed at railway stations, at halting places along the roads, as well as in the evacuee villages. In preparing food for the refugees, women of East Punjab worked heroically, many working till late hours in the night. Patriotism among the general population had never risen to such heights as now, when they were receiving their afflicted brethren from Pakistan. When the flood of humanity reached such proportions that public charity could not tackle their catering arrangements, Government assumed responsibility. Initially, the refugees were provided shelter in public places like *dharamsalas, serais* and schools as well as houses and mohallas of Muslim evacuees. When the accommodation which was thus made available was found insufficient, refugee camps were started. The population of these camps mainly consisted of urbanite refugees as most of the ruralites were directed to

evacuee villages to cultivate the land.

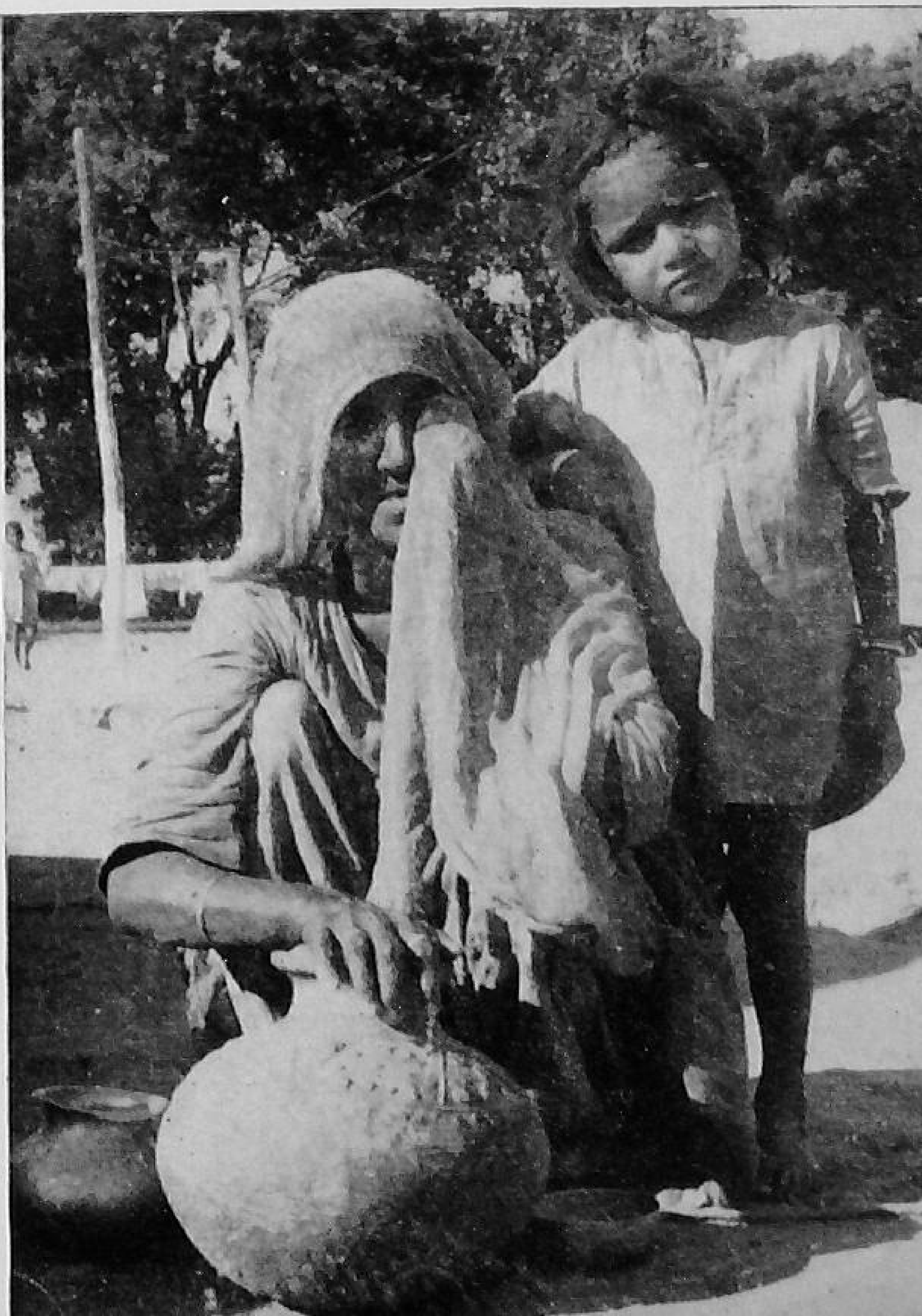
REFUGEE CAMPS

Torn from their familiar environment and occupations, these people were bewildered at the catastrophe which had overtaken them. They had lost their bearings, and many of them did not know what to do. The Government of India and Punjab proved equal to the occasion, and set up refugee camps at a number of places, where these unfortunate people were given rest and shelter. The refugee camps developed into temporary townships with straight and wide roads, crossings, streets, and planned pitching of tents. They presented the appearance of army camps. The essential amenities of life such as water supply, electric street lighting (where electricity was available), sanitation arrangements, bathing places, trenched-latrines, kitchen sheds, and hospitals were provided. Schools were also started so that the education of the children may not suffer. By the end of November, 1947, the total camp population shot up to 7,20,000.

"It had originally been planned to have one big camp, of capacity up to five lakhs, at Kurukshetra, and a second line of camps at Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Jullundur, Ludhiana and Ambala. In the meantime, the exigencies of speedy evacuation, which in turn was dependent upon the nomination of destinations of incoming trains by the West Punjab authorities, landed the Hindu and Sikh refugees practically all over the East Punjab, and the problem no more remained confined to the districts of Amritsar, Gurdaspur, Ferozepur, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, and Ludhiana, which were nearer to the border, and where camps in educational and other buildings had originally come to be established. Tens of thousands of these refugees were detrained at Ambala, Karnal, Panipat, Sonepat, Hissar, Hansi, Bhiwani, Rohtak, and Gurgaon. The Kurukshetra Camp started rapidly filling up. In about the middle of November, there were 1,75,000 refugees in Kurukshetra alone, and camps had started springing up also in Ambala, Hissar, Gurgaon, Rohtak and Karnal. The position of the camps was at this stage rapidly changing, and their populations continued

A widow who lost all her family members.

Reunion of father and daughter.



Derelicts.

increasing. By about the end of November, the total camp population had shot up to 7,20,000, out of which Kurukshetra camp alone had 2,75,000 persons.

Educational institutions had remained closed since the disturbances, and considering that there was no alternative accommodation yet available for this distressed mass of humanity, all the institutions were ordered to remain closed for another three months till the end of February. It was also decided at this stage that the education staff, which was then unoccupied, should be put in charge of the camps, and that the entire student community should be given an opportunity for doing social service by looking after the refugees. This voluntary social service for a period of three months was made a condition for award of degrees without taking the examinations which had long continued to be postponed due to the disturbances. This decision released a very large force of willing, energetic and earnest young men for organising the camps. The students, both boys and girls, enrolled in their thousands for this social service, and teachers took over the camps. Out of all the chaos and congestion caused by the continuing rapid evacuation, order soon began to emerge in the sphere of camp administration.

The next alternative was tentage. As long ago as early October, demands started being pressed by the Punjab Government with the Relief and Rehabilitation Ministry of the Government of India to get them tents from the Defence Ministry. The availability indicated was of the bigger tentage sufficient only for about 1,50,000 persons, and the rest was of bivouac tents which could take in only two persons each. All these were indented for, and they started arriving in the East Punjab in about the middle of November. It was with the help of this tentage that regularly planned camps, with straight wide roads and crossings and side-streets, with water-supply and sanitation arrangements, electric street-lighting (wherever electric current was available), hospitals, kitchen-sheds, bathing places, and trench-latrines started springing up. Intelligent effort, initiative and resourcefulness of the district officers went into the planning and exe-

cution of these camps. As work progressed, it gained momentum when a P. W. D. Superintending Engineer's Circle was created specifically for this work. These towns of tents soon came to be dotted all over the province".[1]

By the end of December, 1947, over 12,50,000 refugees were given shelter in 160 camps all over India. In the camps the refugees were given medical aid and warm clothing and quilts during winter. Mortality figures were exceedingly low in the camps, and deaths due to starvation or lack of medical aid were practically nil. The refugee camps proved a great boon to the migrants. Many of them after resting for some time tried to find work and new occupations. The rural population moved into villages where the cultivators were given land of Muslim evacuees for cultivation, while the urban refugees tried to rehabilitate themselves in diverse ways in towns and cities.

[1]Millions Live Again. - - East Punjab Government Publication, Department of Relief & Rehabilitation.

CHAPTER 4

THE MIGRANTS

I

THE COLONISTS

WE have already given a rough classification of the immigrants from the villages of West Punjab, who poured into India during the Great Migration of August-September, 1947. Many of them were colonists, peasant proprietors and middle-class farmers who originally belonged to East Punjab. They were returning to their ancestral villages from the canal colonies of Lyallpur, Montgomery, Multan and Sargodha. When at the time of evacuation they yoked their bullocks to the carts which formed into miles-long caravans, they looked wistfully at their houses, granaries full of wheat, and orchards of oranges which they had planted with so much care. This was the land on which they and their ancestors had worked for two generations, and by their sweat and toil had converted an endless waste of bush and shrub into the most prosperous colonies in Asia.

THE CANAL COLONIES

Now let us look back on the canal colonies which they were leaving for good. To properly appreciate the work done by the administrators, engineers, and farmers, who by their cooperative efforts developed the colonies, we should take into account the condition of the Punjab before its development under the British Rule. During the Sikh Rule, Punjab was an arid waste with the exception of the wet areas of the riverain and the submontane. Cultivation was carried on only in the wet areas, which were thickly populated. The arid districts of Hissar, Rohtak and Ferozepore which have only recently received the benefit

of canal irrigation, were sparsely populated. The present distribution of population in the districts of Punjab reflects the conditions in the past. The districts in the submontane like Ambala, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur have a high density of population, while the arid districts like Ferozepore, Hissar and Rohtak are not so thickly populated. When the British defeated the Sikh Armies, the Punjab was not considered an attractive enough area for colonial exploitation, as compared with the United Provinces with its fertile area moistened by the Ganges and the Jumna. The British were in a hesitant mood and were not at all keen to annex the arid waste of the Punjab as is evident from the following remarks of Mr. Calvert. "When about 1848 the fate of the Punjab was being anxiously discussed between those who favoured its restoration to a Sikh dynasty and those who advocated annexation, the most powerful argument against its incorporation in British India was that it was a poverty-stricken tract which would always be a burden upon the Central Exchequer as it would never be able to pay for its own administration. Against this it was urged that although there would be a drain on the rest of India, this would be less than the cost of defending it against such incursions from the Sikhs as had occurred twice before."

The Canal Colonies of the Punjab are the result of a great cooperative effort in which we see the consummation of the efforts of engineers, constructive administrators of various services, and the hardy peasantry of the Punjab over a period of forty years. The development of the colonies largely took place between 1892 and 1933. The digging of canals and the development of communications were carried together. Describing the triple effort which gave West Punjab its roads, railways, and irrigation Mr. Calvert writes:

"In 1848 there does not seem to have been a mile of metalled road in existence; there were paved roads in the hills, there is a trace of an old paved road, attributed to the Moghals, by the Marghalla Pass in Rawalpindi district; there were brick pavements in the old towns, but the country at large had only rough earth tracks. The first

roads were devised to serve not economic but military ends; the great overpowering consideration with the British Government in its early days was the fight against famine, and to this end it seemed wiser to devote all the available funds to irrigation works; the first canals did not pay expenses but their value as famine measures outweighed any loss which provincial finances suffered from their construction".

"The expansion of agriculture, the construction of great works of irrigation, the introduction of railways and of metalled roads were all inter-dependent; railways and canals were built by Government with the aid of borrowed capital, and roads from the increasing revenue which the resultant expansion of cultivation brought in."

The development of the Punjab may be illustrated by the following figures.

Year	Railway mileage	Canal mileage	Miles of metalled roads	Cultivated area (millions of acres)	Land Revenue (Lakhs Rs.)
1872-73	410	2,744	1,036	18.8	201
1882-83	600	4,583	1,467	23.4	206
1892-93	1,725	12,368	2,142	26.7	223
1902-03	..	16,893	..	26.8	230
1912-13	4,000	16,935	2,614	29	360
1922-23	4,441	19,664	2,938	30	400
1932-33	5,500	19,601	3,904	30.9	428

LYALLPUR COLONY

The Canal Colonies of West Punjab, embracing an area of nearly 5½ million acres, were developed in the districts of Lyallpur, Sargodha (Shahpur), Montgomery and Multan. The Lyallpur Colony, which has been named after Sir James Lyall, the then Lieutenant Governor of Punjab, is the oldest of the canal colonies and was started in 1892. The lower Chenab Canal irrigated 2½ million acres of land which was previously a scrub desert in Lyallpur. The colonists were selected by the Deputy Commissioners from the over-populated districts of Punjab like Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana. Usually sturdy self-

cultivators who worked the land with their own hands were selected and given grants of land from 14 acres to 25 acres and in due course were allowed to acquire proprietary rights in their holdings at only Rs. 12|8|- per acre. The colonists met many difficulties in the early period of colonization. They had to clear the jungles under the scorching heat of the sun. They dug the water channels and built ramshackle huts to provide shelter for their families against sun and rain. The *Janglis* who constituted the indigenous population were hostile to the new-comers and often harassed them and stole their cattle. The roads were also lacking for carting of produce and the well-known *mandis*, the market towns, were still to develop. Describing the early history of colonization of Lyallpur, Mr. Darling writes:—

> "The country was wide, empty and desolate, the population hostile, and the climate in summer of the fiercest. The tract could only be reached by bullock cart, camel or horse and even when the first harvest was won, there was no railway to take it to market. Methods of irrigation were in their infancy; levels were not always rightly calculated, and colonists were allowed to arrive before all the main channels were ready. The land had to be cleared of bush and scrub, fields to be levelled and embanked, and watercourses to be made. Sometimes the water refused to run, and nothing could be sown. The indigenous nomads, resenting the alien intrusion into their solitudes, gave the settlers no peace, stealing their cattle and harassing them in every possible way. When harvested, too, the produce had to be conveyed to market by the same perilous ways by which the settlers came".

Under such trying conditions some of the colonists became home-sick and returned to their villages while many clung to their colony villages undaunted by the hard conditions of life. Villages and towns sprang up everywhere, and were connected by a network of rail and road transport. The most highly developed types of crops and gardens flourished, and the canal colonies became the home of agricultural prosperity. "The Lyallpur Colony is the richest

tract in India, perhaps even in Asia", said Darling in the nineteen-twenties. Money flowed about in abundance. By the time the next generation grew up, memories of waste lands and initial difficulties had faded, and the colonies appeared to them their old homes. They returned only occasionally to their ancestral homes for the marriage of a son or a daughter. With rising prices their material conditions vastly improved, and many built brick-houses and planted orchards of oranges. At the time of partition Lyallpur district was swimming in plenty, and had a population of over a million inhabitants, and the land owners paid land revenue and water-rate amounting to about Rs. 2 crores to the Government.

SARGODHA COLONY

In Sargodha Canal Colony in Shahpur district, irrigation was extended by the Lower Jhelum Canal in 1897 i.e. five years after the settlement of Lyallpur district. The development of Shahpur Colony received an impetus from the South African War, and grants of over two lakh acres of land, subject to the law of primogeniture, were given for mule, horse and camel breeding.

MONTGOMERY COLONY

The colonization of Shahpur was followed by the development of Montgomery, which was irrigated by the Lower Bari Doab Canal from the Ravi river. As most of the water of the Ravi had been utilised for the Upper Bari Doab for the irrigation of Amritsar and Lahore districts, Sir John Benton, the Chief Engineer of Canals, conceived the famous Triple Project. A canal was taken from the Jhelum and poured into the Chenab. The waters of the Chenab were then poured into the Ravi by another canal—the Upper Chenab Canal—which on its way irrigated 6½ lakh acres in Sheikhupura and Gujranwala districts, and finally by a barrage across the Ravi river the water was taken in another canal—Lower Bari Doab—to Montgomery district and a part of Multan district, which was converted into another flourishing canal colony, which rivalled Lyallpur. The first Colonization Officer in Montgomery was

appointed in 1912, and allotments of land began in 1913. Out of an area of 1½ million acres of crown waste land, 67% was given to the auction purchasers, the immigrant peasant settlers, and the indigenous population, the nomadic *Janglis* who were a pastoral people. The indigenous *Janglis* also changed their habits, and became settled cultivators of land. As the following quotation from the Annual Colony Report for 1914 shows, progress in Montgomery Canal Colony was rapid:

> "The year has been one of real progress. The open spaces of the desert have everywhere been portioned out in meticulous rectangles; jungle trees have been felled, and the wandering camel-tracks of the waste have given place to the durable macadam of public roads, running for miles without curve and without gradient. The goat-herd's pipe and the quavering love-song of the camelman are mute, and in their place we hear the Klaxon of the motor-lorry and the folding harmonium of the peripatetic preacher. The reed encampments of the nomads, their *jhoks* and *rahnas*, open to sun and wind and clean as a dancing floor, have been replaced by the midden-infested mud-houses of the Central Punjab. The nomad himself, once free of the Bar and of his neighbour's cattle, has been pegged out, Prometheus-like, on his 25 acres".

The Government also adopted the policy of making grants with the object of improving agriculture, live-stock and farm-forestry. Peasant grants were given to cultivators for reclaiming waste land half of which they were entitled to retain as a reward for their work and the remaining half they could purchase at concessional rate. Grants were also given for horse-breeding, service conditions, tree planting and 2% of the land was given to depressed classes and criminal tribes. However, unlike Lyallpur the settlers in Montgomery did not get enough time to build so many pucca houses and it was only after about 1945 that some of them started establishing orchards of oranges.

THE COLONISTS

We have had a bird's eye-view of the canal colonies and

A Jat Sikh Colonist from Jullundur.

A Kamboh cultivator from Amritsar.

A Colonist from Ludhiana.

A Jat Sikh Colonist from Amritsar.

A Kamboh Sikh Colonist from Montgomery.

have seen them develop from a scrub desert into a prosperous farming country which produces bumper crops of wheat and cotton and now let us also examine the tribal composition of the people who made these colonies. Most of the colonists of Lyallpur were Jat Sikhs from the over-populated central districts of Punjab where the holdings are small, like Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Ludhiana. Describing the colonists of Lyallpur Canal Colony, Mr. M. L. Darling writes:—

> "A colony could have hardly had better material, for Ludhiana, Jullundur and Amritsar represent the flower of Indian agriculture. They are the home of the Jat Sikh, who has been described as 'the most desirable of colonists'. It would be difficult to say which of the three has produced the best type: for industry and thrift, the Ludhiana Sikh is hard to beat, and the Sikh from Amritsar, though he may be spendthrift and violent, is unsurpassed as a cultivator. Grit, skill in farming, and fine physique are characteristics common to all, and in his new environment the Jat Sikh has reached a point of development probably beyond anything else of the kind in India. In less than a generation he has made the wilderness blossom like the rose. It is as if the energy of the virgin soil of the *Bar* had passed into his veins and made him almost a part of the forces of nature which he has conquered".

While man moulds the environment by his efforts the environmental conditions also mould the man. It is the taste of a higher standard of living which has made the colonist a progressive farmer who uses his brain as much as his hands, and who has gone in for mechanization and has adopted progressive methods of agriculture even in unfavourable conditions which prevail in the East Punjab. Describing the effect on the colonist of the facilities for progressive and remunerative agriculture which canal irrigation provided, Mr. Calvert writes:"

"Upon the human element their effect is no less remarkable; the opportunities for hard work under more responsive conditions than those which prevail in their home districts have moulded the character of the colonists and developed

a sense of pride in their economic well-being that should strengthen the opposition to any tendency towards a lowering of the standard of living".

THE JATS

Now let us examine the tribal composition of the colonists and the stock from which they came. Among the colonists the Jats, Kambohs and Sainis are the most prominent. It is, however, the Jats who may be Sikhs, Hindus or Muslims by religion, who predominate; and they numbered about 5 millions in united Punjab. Due to their numerical preponderance, the term Jat and cultivator has become, more or less, synonymous in the Punjab. They are a sturdy, self reliant, industrious, and a manly race. Apart from the influence of climate and diet, their distinctive qualities are possibly due to racial factors. It is said that they are the descendants of Scythians and Huns. The Scythians were a Central Asian tribe, who entered the plains of the Punjab in the second century B.C. driven by a drought and a more powerful tribe, Yeuh-chi. The Huns invaded India about 450 A.D. in the reign of Skand Gupta and after suffering a preliminary defeat, they ultimately overwhelmed the Gupta empire in 510 A.D., and established their own kingdom. The Jats are a mixed race and are possibly the descendants of the soldiers of these Central Asian tribes who married Indian women. Miscegenation has usually resulted in racial vigour; whenever distantly related communities have inter-married the progeny has usually been stronger than the parents. This phenomenon has also been seen in the U.S.A. where individuals from different European countries have settled, inter-married, and produced a vigorous race. The Soviet Union on account of its liberal racial policy has also encouraged miscegenation. Being a mixed race, the Jats have remained a heterodox people, and have escaped some evils of Hinduism such as rigidity of caste system and food taboos. As they are not governed by elaborate rules of eating in the *chauka* and of shunning members of the so-called lower castes, and could cross the sea without losing caste, the Jats have succeeded not only, as colonists in India but almost in every part of the world

where they could secure a foot-hold. They also accept women from all castes in marriage, and their tribe can be compared to the ocean in which all the rivers merge and lose their identity. The custom of widowhood is also not known among them, as widow remarriage is allowed. If one of the brothers in a family dies young, his widow is accepted as wife by one of the unmarried brothers. This type of marriage is called *karewa*, and the custom is called *chadar andazi*. Among the Jats there is a preponderance of males over females, and as a result quite a number of eligible young men remain unmarried. The paucity of women among them may possibly be due to female infanticide which was widely practised before the British regime, and may also be due to climatic factors, for it is a fairly well-established fact of Biology that hot and dry climate favours the birth of males.

Whatever history may say about their birth, the Jats have their own theory about their origin, which illustrates their heterodoxy and frankness. According to a *Mirasi* wit, Shiva and Parvati, who were rather leading a bored life in the Himalayas and were in need of human company, collected some clay from a field and moulded it into a human figure. Parvati urged Shiva to breathe life into the clay figure. Very reluctantly Shiva agreed and the clay figure became alive. Parvati noted a very sad omission in their creation, whom they had named "Jat". It had not been provided with a mouth. Shiva could not find a chisel; and only an axe was lying close by. He took hold of the axe, and with it provided rather a broad mouth to his creation. He was anxious to hear him talk, and in a very affectionate manner said, "O dear one, let us hear you speak!". He replied, "What are you saying, you son of the gun!" Because the mouth of the Jat was opened with an axe, the tribe is rather notorious for its outspokenness and frankness, which may sometimes appear embarrassing to others.

Apart from racial origin, it is the climate of the central districts of the Punjab which is responsible for the hardihood and toughness of the Jat peasantry. The difference between the summer and winter temperatures is so much

that while in winter the temperature often falls below the freezing point, and frosts are common, in summer heat combined with dust and hot winds creates an inferno. The extremes in temperature have produced a hardy race of peasants, who are tempered like steel and who can bear extremes of heat and cold. This hardy peasantry has produced soldiers who have given a good account of themselves in the deserts of Mesopotamia as well as in the snowy waste of the Kashmir Himalaya.

The Jats of the Punjab have a sense of humour, and are the only people in India who, like the Scots, can enjoy a joke at their own expense. Like the Scots some of the stories are invented by the Jats themselves, though the *Mirasis*, who were the bards as well as the village buffoons, and nearly all of whom have unfortunately migrated to Pakistan, also invented many. In these jokes the simplicity of the Jats, as well as their sense of realism and shrewdness are dramatically revealed. As the story goes a Teli and a Jat had a competition in making verses. The oilman had his turn first and he said, "O Jat O Jat! On your head is a *khat*". The Jat replied, "O Teli O Teli! On your head is a *Kohlu*". The Teli remarked: "Jat rhymes with *khat* but how does Teli rhyme with *kohlu*?" The Jat replied "You have placed a bed on my head, rather a light thing to carry, but I have placed a heavy *kohlu* on your head. What does it matter whether Teli and *kohlu* rhyme or not, at least you will be crushed under the heavy weight of the *kohlu*."

The Jat is known for his sturdy independence, uprightness, directness of speech and courage. He is patient and forbearing, ignores pin-pricks, usually makes light of small annoyances, and remains placid and unruffled. Describing the Sikh Jat, Griffin writes: "But the Sikh is always the same, in peace, in war, in barracks or in the field; ever genial, good tempered and uncomplaining; a fair horseman, a stubborn infantry soldier, as steady under fire as he is eager for a charge". However, when his self-respect or the honour of his women folk is at stake, he becomes desperate and will stop at nothing short of murder. He does not pocket an insult, bides his opportunity for revenge and becomes quite unmindful of consequences. When roused,

he has the fury of ten elephants and it is difficult to check him. He becomes excited, loses his mental equilibrium and does not care for the consequences of his actions. You may break him but you cannot bend him. When he is in a desperate mood, he responds only to tactful handling, sympathetic treatment and persuasion. Any coercive measures taken against him harden his mood of desperation. Handled in a tactful manner he easily forgives and forgets and is ready to side even with his erstwhile enemies.

Physical work is not shirked by either of the sexes and the Jat women, particularly in the districts of Rohtak, Hissar and Gurgaon, participate in nearly all agricultural operations excepting ploughing. They take care of the cattle, and assist their men-folk even in sowing operations. As the men-folk do not hesitate to practise any profession which may be remunerative, they are very much less in debt as compared with other agricultural communities, particularly the Rajputs. As Mr. Darling says: "For the small holder to keep out of debt a supplementary source of income is almost essential. The Rajput has only service and soldiering to help him, but the more enterprising Jat has a number of strings to his bow. If he stays at home, he may start a kiln, deal in cattle, run a lorry, become a shopkeeper, or set up as a money-lender. If he goes abroad he will be found fattening cows in China, sawing wood in Canada, tinning fruit in California, or trading in Australia. During the war he enlisted so freely that Ludhiana and Rohtak stood higher in recruiting than almost any other district in India. Moreover, like the Italian emigrant, whatever his interests and wherever he goes, he never forgets the land, and sooner or later returns with his earnings to the village that bred him. In short, it may be said that in the whole of India there is no finer raw material than the Jat; and, though he may be addicted to violence and crime, as he is in the Manjha, or to dissipation and drink as in Ferozepur, or to gambling, as in parts of Ludhiana, it would be difficult in any country to find a more remarkable combination of cultivator, colonist, emigrant and soldier. Educated and organised, and relieved

of the handicaps imposed upon him by custom and debt, he might well become the foundation of a new rural civilization in the Punjab."

INFLUENCE OF SIKH CULTURE

The contrast which a Muslim village presented when compared with a Sikh village was one of the striking features of united Punjab. As a typical example, the adjoining villages of Berchha and Bodal in Dasuya tahsil of Hoshiarpur district may be taken. Before partition Berchha was inhabited by Muslim Rajputs and Rawals. While most of the houses in Berchha are *kucha*, majority of the houses in Bodal are pucca, and even the streets are paved with bricks. The agricultural holdings in Berchha are large as compared with the holdings of the Sikh Jat proprietors of Bodal, but Berchha Muslims were poor, uneducated and backward. What is true of Berchha and Bodal, is more or less true of most Muslim and Sikh villages, and one finds that where a Muslim Rajput and a Jat Sikh village adjoined most of the land of the Muslim proprietors eventually got mortgaged with Sikh cultivators of the adjoining village. Where a Sikh Jat village provided a glaring contrast when the neighbours were Muslims Rajputs, the contrast was there even where the Muslims belonged to the same tribe as the Sikhs. What is the explanation of the superiority of the Sikh Jat cultivator over the Muslim or the Hindu cultivator? The cause is mainly cultural. Sikhism has imposed a discipline on the life of the Sikh farmer which is conducive to efficiency. The habit of early morning bath makes the Sikh peasant alert and energetic. Besides, the adoption of *kachha* (drawers) as a compulsory form of dress has also given them an advantage over cultivators of other communities whose primitive wraps, whether *Tehmats* or *Dhotis*— make the wearers sluggish. The prohibition of smoking among the Sikhs is also one of the secrets of their efficiency. The Muslim and the Hindu cultivators waste a good deal of their time smoking *hukkas*, and tobacco dulls their faculties and predisposes them to indolence. I remember an instance which illustrates the comparative merits of

smokers and non-smokers among cultivators. Ch. Ghulam Bhikh, a Muslim Rajput of Berchha wanted to sink a well. He invited Muslim Rajputs of his village to his help, and when the well-digging was started it was found that they had brought 12 *hukkas* and 2 spades. Ultimately the well was dug by the Sikh Jats of the adjoining village who brought spades only. Thus we see that the influence of Sikh culture with its abolition of caste-system, the discipline of five 'Ks', *Kachha, Kirpan, Kara, Keshas* and *Kangha,* congregational prayers, the institution of *Langar* or the common kitchen, and prohibition of smoking have added to the efficiency of the Sikh Jats as peasants and cultivators.

AMRITSAR SIKH JATS

Amritsar is the cradle of Sikhism as well as of the Jat Sikh tribes. Guru Ram Das, the fourth Sikh Guru, established the famous tank from which the city and the district derive their name: The Pool of Nectar (Amrit-sar). Guru Arjun Dev the fifth Guru who compiled the Holy Book—Guru Granth—and popularized the Gurumukhi script and Guru Har Gobind, the sixth Guru, further enriched the life of the district. The Gurdwaras of these Gurus which are connected with various events in their lives are dotted all over the countryside. Baba Budha, the Grand Old Man of Randhawas, who had the honour of bestowing the Gaddi on the five Gurus, and was held in great esteem, was a native of Ramdas. During the Sikh Raj, the various tribes of Sikhs Jats dispersed from Amritsar in search of adventure and land, to the districts of Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ferozepur, Ambala and even far-off Karnal. The over-populated tahsils of Taran Taran and Amritsar also provided a large number of colonists to the canal colonies of West Punjab. The Jat Sikhs of Taran Taran tahsil are tall, strong, and well-built, and are also large-hearted, generous and brave. They are also turbulent by nature, and a murder or dacoity is not regarded as an unusual event in Taran Taran. Those from Amritsar tahsil are comparatively more peaceful and law-abiding. A good percentage of the colonists of Amritsar tahsil is Kamboh Sikhs.

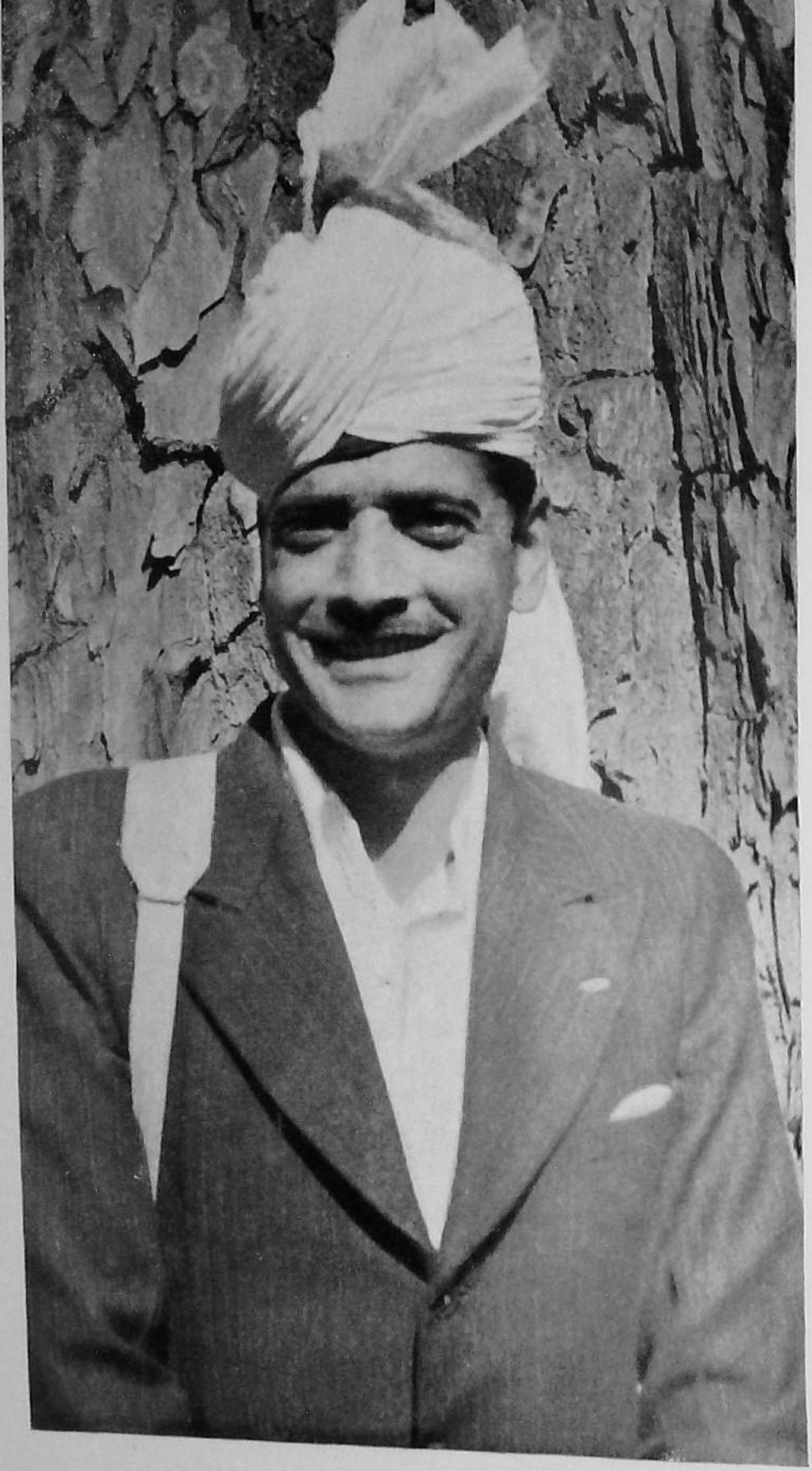
KAMBOHS

For sheer tenacity and persistence nobody can beat the Kambohs. A quiet, meek, and humble industrious tribe of agriculturists, they are unmatched for their hard work. It is on account of their peace-loving qualities that they are preferred as tenants or colonists. Kambohs have a gregarious instinct, and help each other more than any other community.

DOABA SIKH JATS

The districts of Jullundur and Hoshiarpur which lie between Beas and Sutlej rivers constitute Doaba. The Doaba Jat is the shrewdest of the race. He is intelligent, industrious and a careful farmer. Usually cold and calculating, he is hard-headed enough, and is not easily moved by emotional appeals. Political leaders who are accustomed to receiving the adulation of crowds in other parts of India, feel very disappointed when they address crowds of peasants of the Doaba who listen to their impassioned speeches unmoved. In other parts of India political leaders are greeted with lusty '*Jais*' while in the Doaba districts the rural audiences listen to them calmly and dispassionately, and are often critical. They have a sense of independence and pride of race, which is rarely noticed in the rural population of any other part of India. As Mr. Darling says. "Like the Scot they bow the knee only to themselves and God." Everyone regards himself as a leader, and is unwilling to follow others. This also explains the anarchy in Sikh politics, and one ultimately finds that in fact there are more leaders than followers.

If the Doaba Jats rose as a body against the Muslim Arain in the civil war of 1947, it was more to compensate themselves for the losses in land and property which they had suffered in West Punjab, where they were the main colonists rather than from any emotional antipathy against Islam or the Muslims. In the management of his farm and household the Doaba Sikh Jat is frugal to the point of parsimony. He has the reputation of being enterprising and has migrated in fairly large numbers from the over-populated tahsils of Phillaur, Jullundur, and Nawan Shahr in Jullundur



A Dogra Colonist from Kangra.

district, and Garh Shankar in Hoshiarpur district, to foreign countries like Canada, the U.S.A., and South and East Africa. In California he has established his reputation as a farmer, and in the Lumber Industry of Victoria in Canada he has acquired quite a notable position. It is mainly with the contributions of these migrants that a college has been established in Mahlpur village in tahsil Garh Shankar, district Hoshiarpur. In the humid climate of Hoshiarpur his physique has deteriorated though it has been amply compensated in proportionate increase in intelligence and worldly wisdom. On account of smallness of holdings, pressure on the land is tremendous, and consequently the price of land is out of all proportion to its economic value. The narrow acre has affected the outlook of the farmer, who is parsimonious, litigious and petty-minded. He keeps a keen watch on the local officials and is a past-master in the art of writing anonymous letters and intrigue. Consequently many officers who had the misfortune of being posted in this district have come to grief, and a posting in Hoshiarpur is usually unwelcome and is regarded as inauspicious.

DOGRAS

Among the military grantees who were settled in the Canal Colonies, were the Dogras of Kangra district, the Rajputs from Jammu and Una tahsil of Hoshiarpur and the Rajputs and Hindu Jats of the submontane areas of Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur and Sialkot.

BRAHMANS

Among the Dogras of Kangra are included both Rajputs and Brahmans. Whatever differences they may have in caste, manners, and customs, at least they have one common trait, aversion to manual labour and particularly to the handling of the plough. Brahmans of Kangra are over one lakh in number, and are nearly one-seventh of the entire population. They are intelligent and resourceful, have a fair share in government services and have also joined the army in sufficient numbers. Brahmans of Kangra claim to belong to the Sarasvat group and have

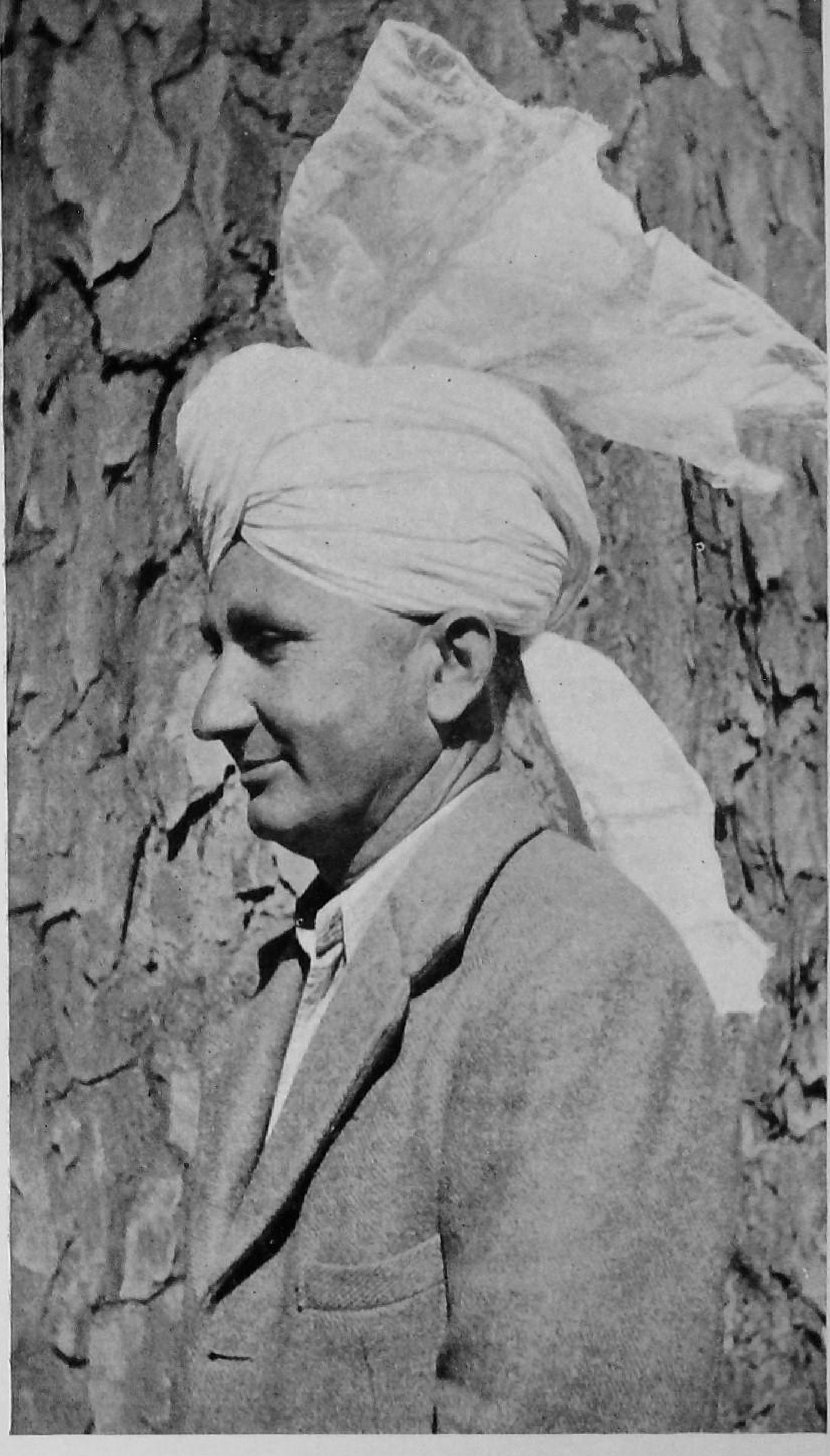
numerous sub-groups. As compared with the Brahmans of the plains, they are less orthodox, and the men as well as women have no objection to the use of meat in their diet. There are different groups and classes among the hill Brahmans which fall into two main sub-groups: those who follow and those who abstain from agriculture. In their social ladder, the agricultural Brahmans are at the lowest rung.

RAJPUTS

The Rajputs predominate in the hills of Kangra district, where they are more than one lakh in number i.e. about one-seventh of the total population, as well as in Pathankot tahsil of Gurdaspur district, Una and Garh Shankar tahsils and Mukerian sub-tahsil of Hoshiarpur, and Naraingarh and Jagadhri tahsils of Ambala district. On account of their numerical preponderance in the mountainous area as well as in the submontane, they are rightly described as the aristocrats of the hills. The Rajputs are people with a past, a glorious past, and like all people with a glorious past, the present is unkind to them and the future uncertain. As descendants of the hill Rajas, the Rajputs claim a royal ancestry, and have preserved their racial purity by practising strict endogamy and by enforcement of purdah system among their women-folk. On the average they are a well-built, athletic race of light complexion and regular features, and have big clear eyes. In fact, a Rajput can be easily marked out by his eyes and nose. They are sportsmen, fond of hunting, hawking and riding, and make good soldiers. Like other martial races, they are proud of their past, and are inclined to be boastful of their achievements.

The Rajputs have an exaggerated notion of self-respect and honour, and observe a punctilious code of etiquette in social intercourse, which is carried to such extremes that they would rather preserve the shadow and lose the substance. According to Mr. Arjan Dass, the editor of the Kangra Gazetteer :

"The descendants of noble Rajput houses are distinguished by the honourable title of Mian. When accosted



Rajput Colonist from Una (Dist. Hoshiarpore).

by their inferiors, they receive the peculiar salutation of *jai dia*, offered to no other caste. Among themselves the same salutation is interchanged. The inferior, for there are endless gradations even among the Mians, first offers the salutation, and the courtesy is usually returned. In former days greater importance was attached to this salutation; unauthorised assumption of the privilege was punished as a misdemeanour by heavy fine and imprisonment. The Rajputs delight to recount stories illustrating the value of this honour and the vicissitudes endured to prevent its abuse. Raja Dhian Singh, the Sikh Minister, himself a Mian desired to extort the *jai dia* from Raja Bir Singh, the fallen chief of Nurpur. He held in his possession the grant of a jagir valued at Rs. 25,000 duly signed and sealed by Ranjit Singh, and delayed presenting the deed until the Nurpur chief should hail with this coveted salutation. But Bir Singh was a Raja by a long line of ancestors, and Dhian Singh was a Raja only by favour of Ranjit Singh. The hereditary chief refused to compromise his honour, and preferred beggary to affluence rather than accord the *jai dia* to one who, by the rules of the brotherhood, was his inferior."

"A Mian, to preserve his name and honour unsullied, must scrupulously observe four fundamental maxims. He must never drive the plough; he must never give his daughter in marriage to an inferior, nor marry himself much below his rank; he must never accept money in exchange for the betrothal of his daughter; and his female household must observe strict seclusion. The prejudice against the plough used to be perhaps the most inveterate of all; that step could never be recalled. The offender at once lost the privileged salutation; he was reduced to the second grade of Rajputs; no Mian would marry his daughter, and he must go a step lower in the social scale to get a wife for himself. In every occupation of life he was made to feel his degraded position. In meetings of the tribe and at marriages Rajputs undefiled by the plough would refuse to sit at meals with the *hal-bah* or plough-driver, as he is contemptuously styled; and many to avoid the indignity of exclusion, never appeared at public assemblies. The

prejudice against agriculture which ran counter to the well-known text declaring agriculture to be the best of occupations is fast dying out. Some say it is sacrilegious to lacerate the bosom of mother earth with an iron plough-share; others declare that the offence consists in subjecting sacred oxen to labour. The probable reason is that the legitimate weapon of the military class is the sword; and the plough is the badge of a lower walk in life; and the exchange of a noble for ruder profession is tantamount to a renunciation of the privileges of caste, but the prejudice is getting less daily."

"The seclusion of their women is also maintained with severe strictness. The dwellings of Rajputs can always be recognised by one familiar with the country. The houses are placed in isolated positions, either on the crest of a hill which commands approaches on all sides, or on the verge of a forest sedulously preserved to form an impenetrable screen. Where natural defences do not exist, an artificial growth is promoted to afford the necessary privacy. In front of their dwellings, removed about fifty paces from the house, stands the mandi or vestibule, beyond whose precincts no one unconnected with the household can venture to intrude. A privileged stranger who has business with the master of the house may by favour occupy the vestibule, but even this concession is jealously guarded and only those of decent caste and respectable character are allowed to come even thus far. A remarkable instance of the extremes to which this seclusion is carried is recorded by Mr. Barnes as having occurred within his experience. A Katoch's house in the Mandi territory accidently caught fire in broad day. There was no friendly wood to favour the escape of the women, and rather than brave the public gaze they kept their apartments and were sacrificed to a horrible death. Those who wished to visit their parents must travel in covered palanquins and those too poor to afford a conveyance travel by night, taking unfrequented roads through thickets and ravines. Even the prejudice against receiving money on the betrothal of a daughter is breaking down as a result of economic pressure."

"On account of strict observance of *purdah*, the Rajput woman is an economic liability," as Mr. Darling remarks, "while the Jatni is an economic treasure". Aversion for manual labour, particularly ploughing, seclusion of the women in purdah coupled with the physical incapacity to stand dry and hot climate made the Rajput an indifferent farmer. As they are accustomed to a cold temperate climate they were not successful as colonists in the canal colonies of West Punjab where dust and heat prevail. According to the district gazetteer of Montgomery district, "It would have been small loss to the colony if there had been more selection and classes of military men obviously unsuited to agricultural life in the Montgomery district had been rewarded in some other way. Such are the Muslim Rajputs from Jammu and the Muree hills, the Hindu Jats and Rajputs (Dogras) of the submontane area. None of these classes has taken kindly to the heat and dust of the Montgomery district. Most of them are absentees in so far as they can evade the vigilance of the officers in charge of colony work, and it is possible that as soon as they can acquire proprietary rights many of them will sell their grants and retire permanently to their homes." This prophesy was, however, not fulfilled, as land in the canal colonies remained an attractive proposition even for absentee landlords on account of soaring prices of agricultural commodities, and the Dogras continued to cling to their grants. These Dogra colonists used to pay a visit to their chaks during winter months and after collecting their *theka* money from their tenants they returned to their villages in the cool hills of Kangra. While there could be excuse for absenteeism among the Dogra colonists of Palampur and Kangra tahsils who are accustomed to a cold and humid climate, the Dogras from the dry and barren hills of Hamirpur and Nurpur could have done better. As a Dogra remarked, "The Sikh Jats remained in the colonies, enriched themselves and built their race, while our men paid only casual visits and after collecting their lease money they hurried to their hills."

The Dogras of Kangra have been settled in their own district, and in Mukerian sub-tahsil of Hoshiarpur district. In Kangra they make use of Ghirths as tenants, and in Mukerian of Changs, a tribe of farmers allied to Ghirths in racial origin. The conferment of greater rights on tenants has given a rude shock to the Dogra Colonists, and a number of them are making attempts to settle on their allotments, and to carry on cultivation by employing servants, who work as ploughmen. However, people who have been gentlemen for centuries cannot become farmers over-night, and Destiny is rather harsh to the Dogra Colonists.

CHAPTER 5

THE MIGRANTS
II
THE NON-COLONISTS

EVER since the times of Manu, the philosopher and law-giver, professions in India have been determined by caste. A person does not select the profession according to his inclination or aptitude; it is already determined for him even before his birth by the profession of his ancestors. The indigenous Hindu and Sikh population of rural West Punjab belonged to two sets of castes and, therefore, followed two main professions: (1) cultivation, and (2) trading and money-lending. It may be roughly estimated that out of every 5 displaced landholders who migrated into India, one was a colonist and four non-colonists. Among these four, two were self-cultivators and two non-cultivators.

This migration took place a little less than a hundred years after the end of the Sikh Raj in North-Western India. The memory of the Sikh rule was still fresh in the minds of old men and women, some of whom had even seen Maharaja Ranjeet Singh, and used to relate to their young ones with much relish how they saw the one-eyed Maharaja riding on his favourite horse through the lanes of their villages. The Sikh Jats provided the greater part of the material on which the edifice of the Sikh raj had been built. As the Singh Sardars constituted the ruling class, they acquired land and became feudal lords, holding sway over considerable areas. Quite a proportion of the non-agricultural population of the districts like Montgomery, Multan, Jhang, Rawalpindi, and Jhelum planted themselves in these areas during the Sikh rule. Others who had been there before acquired respectable status, as after centuries of Muslim rule, political power passed into their hands. This

is a proud phase in the history of India and we find that after hundreds of years the tide of invasions was reversed, and those who had been continuously invaded for centuries themselves became the invaders. With political power these communities who were sprinkled among the Muslims also acquired economic power.

The agricultural tribes in the districts of Lahore, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala and Sialkot had, of course, been living there since times immemorial and, on occasions, had enjoyed a measure of autonomy and self-government which they called their own "Raj". In the larger villages the houses of the well-to-do Sirdars resembled little fortresses with garrets and cornices with sniper's holes in their walls, and underground apartments for storing arms.

We have already seen that the colonists were excellent cultivators, and it was their prowess in agriculture that brought them their wealth and good name. The native cultivators belonged to such castes as Jats, Rajputs, Sainis, Kambohs, Labanas, Mahtams, Dogras and the non-cultivators were Khatris, Aroras, Brahmans, Aggarwals and Bhatias. The former were concentrated in the districts of Lahore, Sheikhupura, Gujranwala and Sialkot, and the latter formed a small percentage of the populations of the remaining districts like Multan, Jhang, Rawalpindi, Jhelum, Muzaffargarh, Gujrat, etc.

Of the two classes of cultivators and non-cultivators, we find that the Jats were the leaders among the cultivators, and among the non-cultivators the Khatris attained a dominating position. Their different callings governed their ways of life, and though the two classes lived on more or less exclusive planes, they also co-operated in building the economy of the Punjab. The Khatri and the Jat were the warp and woof of the fabric of life in West Punjab. While the symbols of the Jat are the sword and the plough, the pen and the book are the symbols of the Khatri. The Jat cultivated the fields in peace time, and in times of crises he handled the sword. While the Jats provided the fighting men for the army, the Khatris provided the intelligentsia. The evidence of this co-operation is seen in the rise of Sikhism. While the Gurus were Khatris, the followers or

the Sikhs were mainly the Jats. During the Sikh rule the Khatris provided competent administrators like Dewan Sawan Mal and army leaders like Hari Singh Nalwa. With the consolidation of Sikh rule, the Sikh Jats came to the top, and most of the good land was in their hands. After the British conquest of the Punjab and the establishment of Pax Britannica, education in urban areas received an impetus, and the Khatris regained ascendancy. They were the leaders in the field of education, and soon acquired a predominant position in business, professions and Government services. The Khatris along with the Aroras through money-lending also acquired considerable interest in land mainly at the expense of the Muslim peasantry. While the peasants worked in the fields in heat and dust, the Khatris and Aroras used their brains and carved a comfortable living for themselves with their account books. They also paid more attention to the education of their sons, who acquired a lion's share in Government services. The agrarian relief measures of the Unionist Ministry gave a new orientation to the economy of the Punjab. Under the dynamic leadership of Sir Fazal Hussain and Chaudhri Chhotu Ram, the Jats and the Muslim Arains again came to the top, and the non-cultivating classes also indirectly benefited as they invested their surplus wealth in financing industry rather than acquiring mortgages of land. Though there was competition between the two communities, the cultivators and the non-cultivators, it was a healthy competition which was beneficial to the economy of the Punjab. There was also invisible co-operation between the two major communities of the cultivators and the non-cultivators—the Khatris and the Jats—and it is mainly on account of this co-operation that the Punjab became the most prosperous province in united India and played a dominating role.

SELF CULTIVATORS

The most numerous single block among the self-cultivators was that of the Majhails, as the people of Lahore district are called. They are mostly Sikh Jats, and a very virile set of people.

THE MAJHAILS

Majhails of Kasur tahsil are known for their magnificent physique and strength and their war-like qualities, which are probably due to abundant use of milk and milk products in their dietary, apart from racial factors. Possibly there is a historical basis also for these war-like traits. During the period of the Missals, only strong leaders who could muster the support of guerilla bands who lived by plunder could hold their own. It was only force which they respected. As Paine says, "All the great families, north and south of the Sutlej, have the same origin; the law of force, the keen sword and the strong hand were the foundations upon which Sikh society was based. They fought and plundered like men and not like demons". They were only happy and united when they were fighting a common enemy, and as soon as peace was established they started fighting among themselves, for fight they must. Probably this is a tradition that they inherited from their ancestors who formed the first republics during the time of Porus along the banks of the Ravi and the Chenab. This explains why factional fights and vendettas were so common in Majha villages, and why law and order was so precariously maintained. This also explains the large size of the Majha villages and their bee-hive like structure, for the villagers must herd together for reasons of security. Homesteads, such as can be seen in the villages of the *Doaba* do not exist in Majha and after dark it was unsafe for women to leave their houses. With the growth and expansion of the city of Lahore, the Sikh Jat cultivators of the Lahore rural area, particularly in the suburban zone, shared the prosperity of the growing city. They adopted intensive methods of agriculture, and specialised in fodder-raising and milk production, and even with their small holdings they earned substantial incomes. Large numbers of them could be seen driving their bullock carts laden with "berseem" towards Lahore city. Similar long columns of cyclists carrying tin canisters full of milk on the roads leading to Lahore city was also a familiar sight. While the nearness of Lahore city was economically a boon to these peasant proprietors, easy incomes also retarded their educational progress. They took no advan-

A Jat Sikh Cultivator from Gujranwala.

A Virk farmer from Sheikhupura.

tage of the numerous schools and colleges of Lahore, and the percentage of literacy among them was woefully low, and higher education was practically non-existent. Widespread illiteracy proved to be a great handicap to them in the period of their resettlement in East Punjab.

Since Lahore was a district of comparatively large holdings and the land was also good, the Majha Jats lacked the colonist's zeal for the improvement and exploitation of his land. "As an agriculturist the Majha Jat is only moderately good", says the author of the Gazetteer of Lahore district. "Hitherto their farming has been conducted on broad and rough principles; they have had large areas to deal with, which until within the last few years were dependent mainly on dry cultivation and this was dependent for its success far more on the season than on any special efforts on the cultivator's part. The canal extension even has hitherto made little difference in the character of the farming; the Majha Jats still have plenty in return for very little trouble on the cultivator's part. In the more congested parts however of this canal irrigated tract, on the north for instance, towards the Amritsar border, where population is beginning to press on the soil and the land in places shows signs of exhaustion, the people are coming to understand that to make their land yield continuously something more is required than a sowing preceded by two or three ploughings and followed by copious canal irrigation".

The Gazetteer also speaks of their importance and military glory. It says: "The Sikh Jats of Majha are a far more important section of the tribe than their mere numbers would lead one to think. Though the rules of conduct as laid down by Guru Gobind Singh are not observed so strictly as formerly, Sikhism still retains in part the prestige of the military organisation which made it the power it was in the Punjab in the time of Ranjit Singh. The marauding instincts instilled into the mind of his followers by the sword rule of Ranjit Singh, and the constant faction broils that prevailed between the separate units of the Maharaja's military following when not engaged against a common foe reveal themselves continuously in the everyday life of the Sikh Jat of the present day, in his grasping rapacity and in

his readiness to take up arms in defence of what he considers his right."

THE VIRKS

Next in importance to Majhails from the point of numbers as well as of area abandoned are the Virk Jats who held a large contiguous block of 120 villages in the Sheikhupura and Gujranwala districts. A note contained in the district Gazetteer of Gujranwala gives an idea of their qualities as men and as cultivators "Politically they are mainly Sikhs in the *Bar* nearly always so, and physically are a fine athletic manly race far surpassing in energy and industry any of their Muhammadan neighbours. They are first rate cultivators, though in the *Bar* they have taken to agriculture only under British rule, their hereditary profession being arms or theft. Their villages are prosperous, well developed and usually free from debt. Like most Jat Sikhs they combine the love of adventure with the love of gain, and are generally to the fore where money is to be made, or where hard knocks are going. In the Sikh villages the spirit of the Khalsa is still strong, their tone is decidedly democratic and the exercise of authority by the lambardar or zaildar is strongly resented. The Cheemas among the Muhammadans and Virks among the Sikhs are the best cultivators. The other tribes are only average farmers".

VARAICHS AND MANS

"There were two other clans of Jat Sikh cultivators in Gujranwala district which deserve notice. They are the Varaichs and Mans. The Varaichs hold 48 villages to the north and north-west of Gujranwala city. They are good cultivators but not prosperous as a tribe, having suffered from the vicinity of the civil court and proximity to the city, with the idle habits, love of litigation and extravagance which it induces".

About the Mans it says "The Mans own six villages in the Gujranwala tahsil. They are one of the three oldest Jat tribes in the Punjab. Though numerically small, some families of this tribe played a very large part in the history of the Punjab under Sikh rule, when the saying that the

Man Sardars were handsome, gallant and true passed into a bye-word".

BAJWAS KAHLONS ETC.

Sialkot was a district of small holdings. According to the District Gazetteer it came second in order of population but only tenth with respect to cultivated area. "The pressure of population on the soil is great and the consideration which goes furthest to stay the hand of the Settlement Officer in this well favoured district is the fact that holdings are minute and the people, as a rule, poor in consequence".

The Jats were the most important agricultural clan in the district. They owned 65% of the cultivated area and constituted nearly a quarter of the total population. About two-thirds of them were Mussalmans and less than a fourth were Sikhs. Their clans are legion but the Bajwas, Basra, Bhindar, Chimma, Deo, Ghuman, Kahlon, Gorayas, Malhi, Sahi, Sandhu and Varaich are the most important. In Sikh villages the Jat enlisted freely in the army, and made a sturdy soldier, but occasionally indulged a taste for liquor and for cheating the exciseman.

The Jats from the sub-montane tahsil of Pasrur are miserable specimens of humanity; their half-starved appearance, sallow complexion and untidy turbans easily mark them out from others. The Jats from Narowal tahsil are comparatively better-built and are fairly good colonists. Between the two extremes stand the Jats of Daska and Sialkot. Emigration except to the canal colonies or to the neighbouring cities of Amritsar and Lahore, is not generally popular, and money-lending or cattle dealing are the only enterprises indulged in outside the ordinary round of agriculture. Thanks to their small holdings, they were masters of intensive cultivation and rotation of crops.

Another important agricultural tribe were the Dogras, who lived in the north of Sialkot and Narowal tahsils, and provided good fighting material to the army.

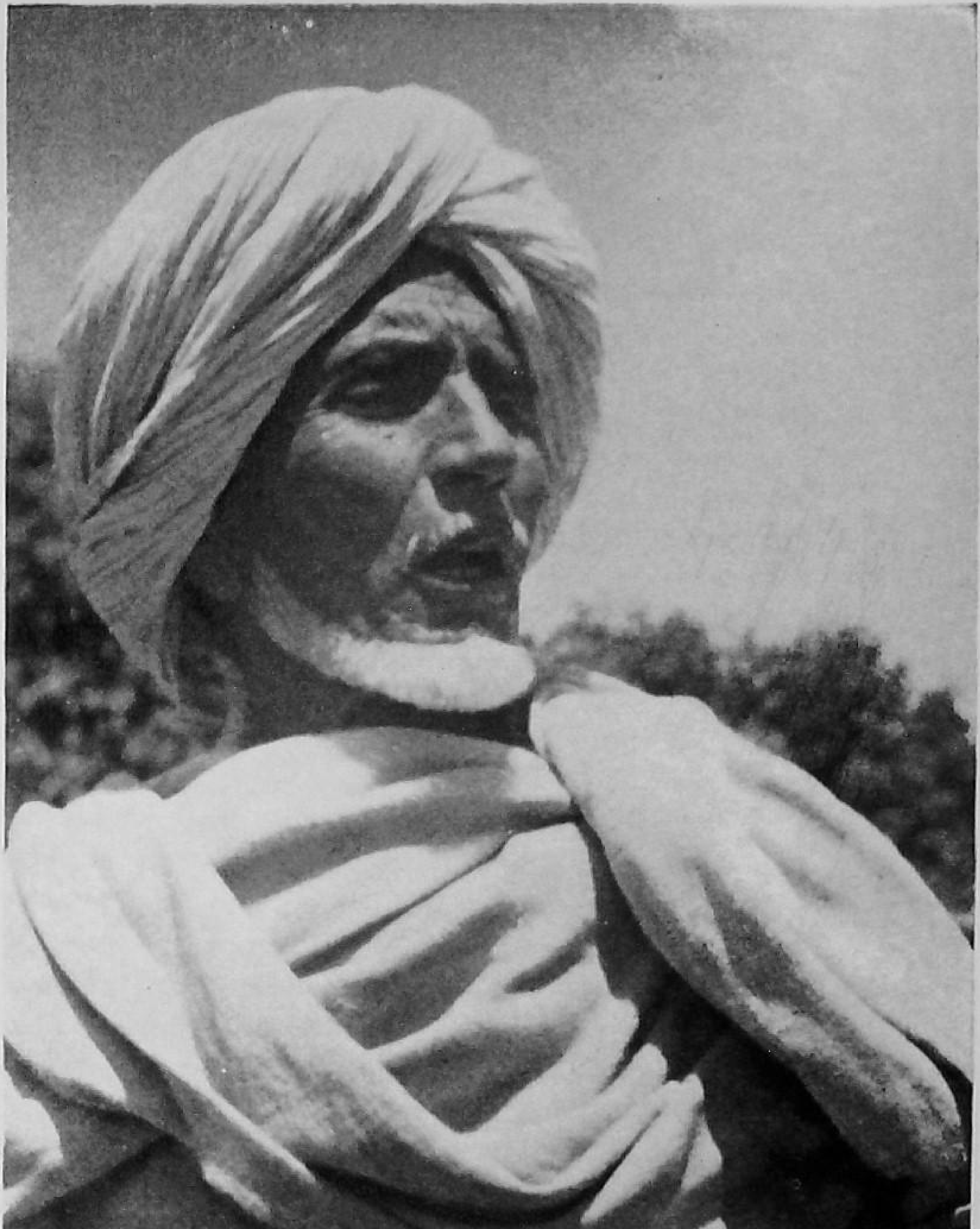
KAMBOHS

For sheer tenacity and persistence no body can beat the

Kambohs—a quiet meek and humble industrious tribe of agriculturists, who are unmatched for their hard work. It is said that originally they came from across the Indus. It is on account of their peace-loving qualities that they are preferred as tenants or colonists. The tenacity and persistence with which they have pursued officials of the Rehabilitation Department from the patwari and the orderly of the Additional Deputy Commissioner to the topmost officials has benefited them greatly in the land allotment scheme. By their doggedness they got a generous deal in the phase of temporary allotment of land, particularly in Amritsar and Jullundur districts where they are found in large numbers. They have a gregarious instinct, and help each other more than any other community, and provide a great contrast to the Jats who miss no opportunity of damaging each other. As the Punjabi proverb says "the crow, the *Kirar* and Kamboh help their progeny, while the Jat, the buffalo and the crocodile destroy them".

LABANAS

Labanas were found in large numbers in the *bet* areas of Gujrat and Sheikhupura. Their villages are called "Tandas" after "Tand", meaning, a caravan. Possibly these villages were the halting places of caravans, and Labanas were mostly engaged in trade. The Labana Sikhs are emotional people, and have great love for poetry and music. Even some of their small boys compose poems which they recite with great emotion. Like the Rai Sikhs, they are fond of Bhangra and continue to dance till late hours in the night without showing any signs of fatigue and exhaustion. After their migration, the Labanas have settled in the *bet* area of the Beas for various reasons. They are accustomed to the life of the riverain areas, and feel at home in the reed-infested land and mosquito-ridden marshes which would frighten away others. Labanas, though claiming to be Rajputs, are one of the primitive tribes of the West Punjab who embraced Sikhism, and have not forgotten their love for the bottle. The villages in the *bet* are inaccessible during rains, and the Labanas can enjoy the privilege of illicit distillation of liquor immune from the raids of the



A Jat Cultivator from Pasrur (Sialkot).

police. Moreover, their love for other people's cattle still remains undiminished, and the *bet* provides them a sanctury where they could pass on the cattle across the river without undue risks. Moreover they have a gregarious instinct, and feel happy if they are together. They had great faith in their spiritual leader, Sant Prem Singh, and it was more out of fear of his curse that they even abandoned good lands for the privilege of settling near him. On his death, when his mortal remains were on the funeral pyre, many Labana Sikhs were seen handling live coals. This was the homage which they paid to their deceased Guru. Like other downtrodden communities, the Labana Sikhs are feeling a great urge for educational progress, and in fact apart from communal solidarity, it was the promise of a college which attracted them to the *bet* of Bhalath in Kapurthala. Labana Sikhs are simple people, whose love for adventure and soldiering has already won them name and they are known for their valour and chivalry.

RAI SIKHS

The Rai Sikhs are also a primitive tribe who embraced Sikhism during the rule of Ranjit Singh. They are a tough people, and are indeed one of the hardiest races of the Punjab. Usually tall and well built with thick bones and long beards, Rai Sikhs have settled in the riverain areas of Ferozepur district and Kapurthala. Like the Labana Sikhs, they take pleasure in distilling liquor and are also one of the few people in the plains of the Punjab who enjoy dance and music. Bhangra is their favourite dance. Wearing colourful *tehmats* and *kamar bands* on their waists, they let themselves go during the Bhangra, and utter warlike cries which strike terror among the onlookers and convey an impression of elemental energy. They are hardy and industrious cultivators who have improved their status after migration, and now claim Rajput ancestry like many others who were low in the social scale in West Punjab.

The Gazetteer of Montgomery district says about them "They own a good many villages most of which are in fair condition. When they are not proprietors of the whole village, they reside in a separate group of huts at some dis-

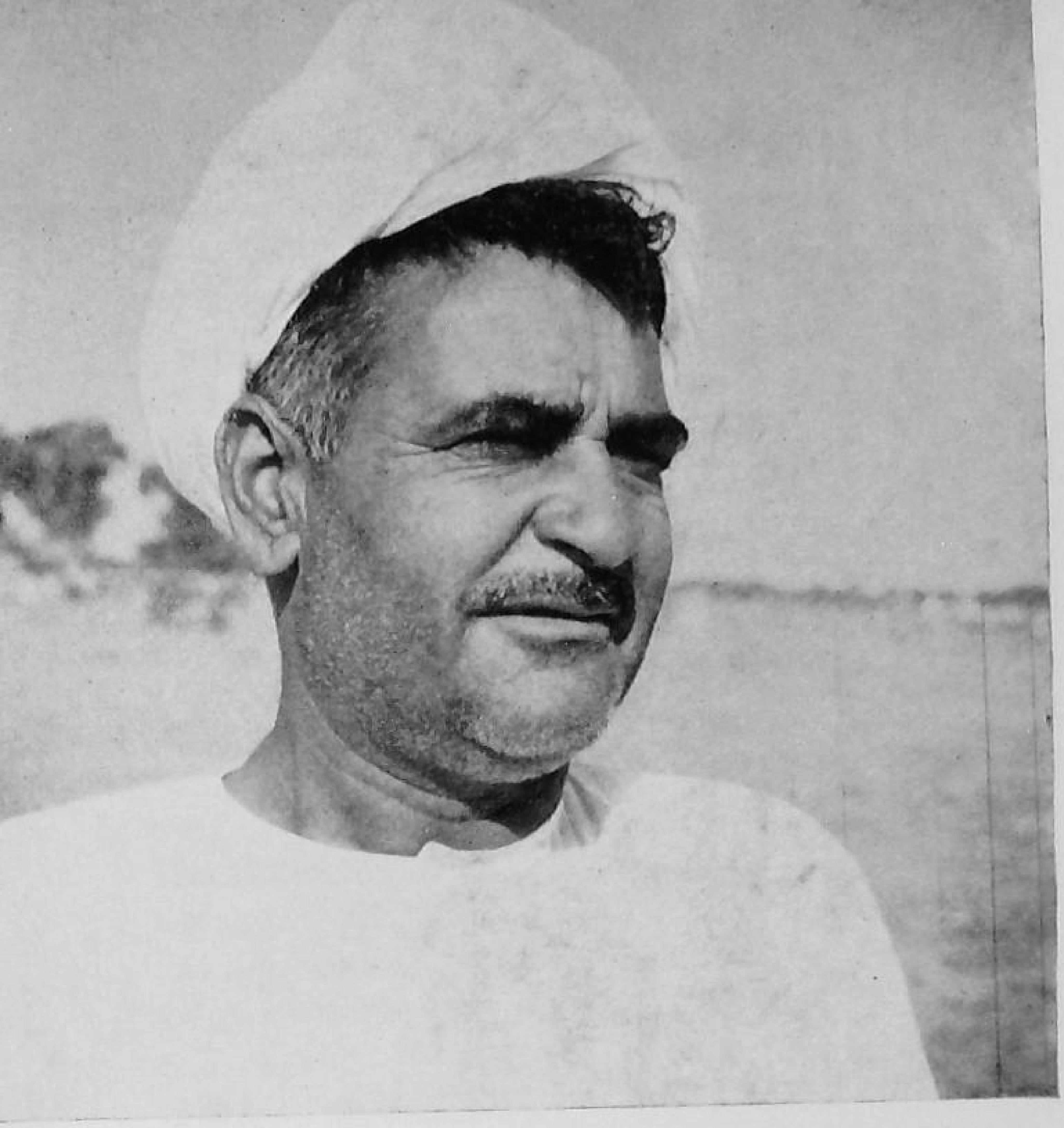
tance from the main abadi. They are great hands at catching wild pigs, but it is in cutting down the jungle on inundated land that they excel. Though industrious they do not care much for working wells, and prefer cultivating land flooded by the rivers".

THE SAINIS

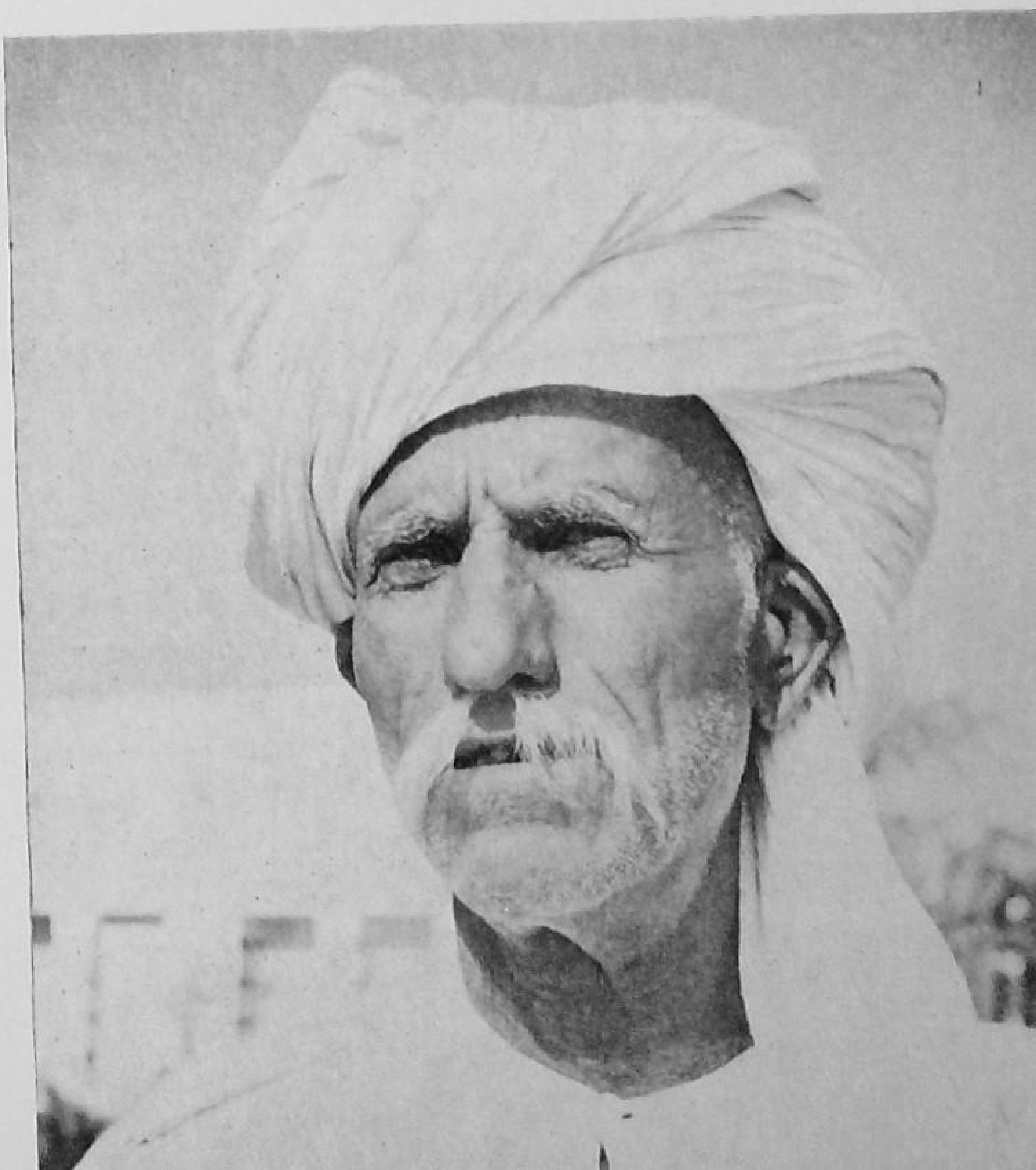
The Sainis are experts at intensive cultivation, and are well-known market gardeners. As such, they are the Hindu counter-part of the Arains. They are quiet, peaceful, and law-abiding, and have proved themselves successful colonists. They owned land in Sheikhupura, Sialkot, and Montgomery districts.

NON-CULTIVATORS

The non-cultivating landowners in West Punjab were altogether different from the cultivators. The origin of their rights in land as well as their relation to it were radically different from those of the self-cultivators. Whereas the ownership of the cultivators existed since times beyond living memory, and had passed from father to son, proprietary rights of the non-cultivators generally dated since the Sikh or the British rule. For instance, the Khatris and Aroras in Montgomery district acquired a foothold there in the latter half of the 18th century when the Nakai Sikh Sardars were establishing some sort of order in these parts. In Gujranwala, the ownership of the Khatris generally dates from the British rule, though in Hafizabad tahsil most of their estates were gifts from Dewan Sawan Mal, the Multan governor of the Sikhs. Before the passing of the Punjab Alienation of Land Act in 1901 there was no restriction on a non-agriculturist buying up the land of an agriculturist. A large proportion of land owned by the non-agriculturists was bought up with the money that their profession brought them. As a rule, they lent money on the security of land, and later bought up the mortgaged land by advancing more money. In some cases they acquired proprietary rights by agreeing to pay land revenue when the Jat owners deserted or refused to accept revenue responsibility.



An Arora land-owner from Multan.



An Arora farmer from Jhang.

A PROGRESSIVE FORCE IN AGRICULTURE

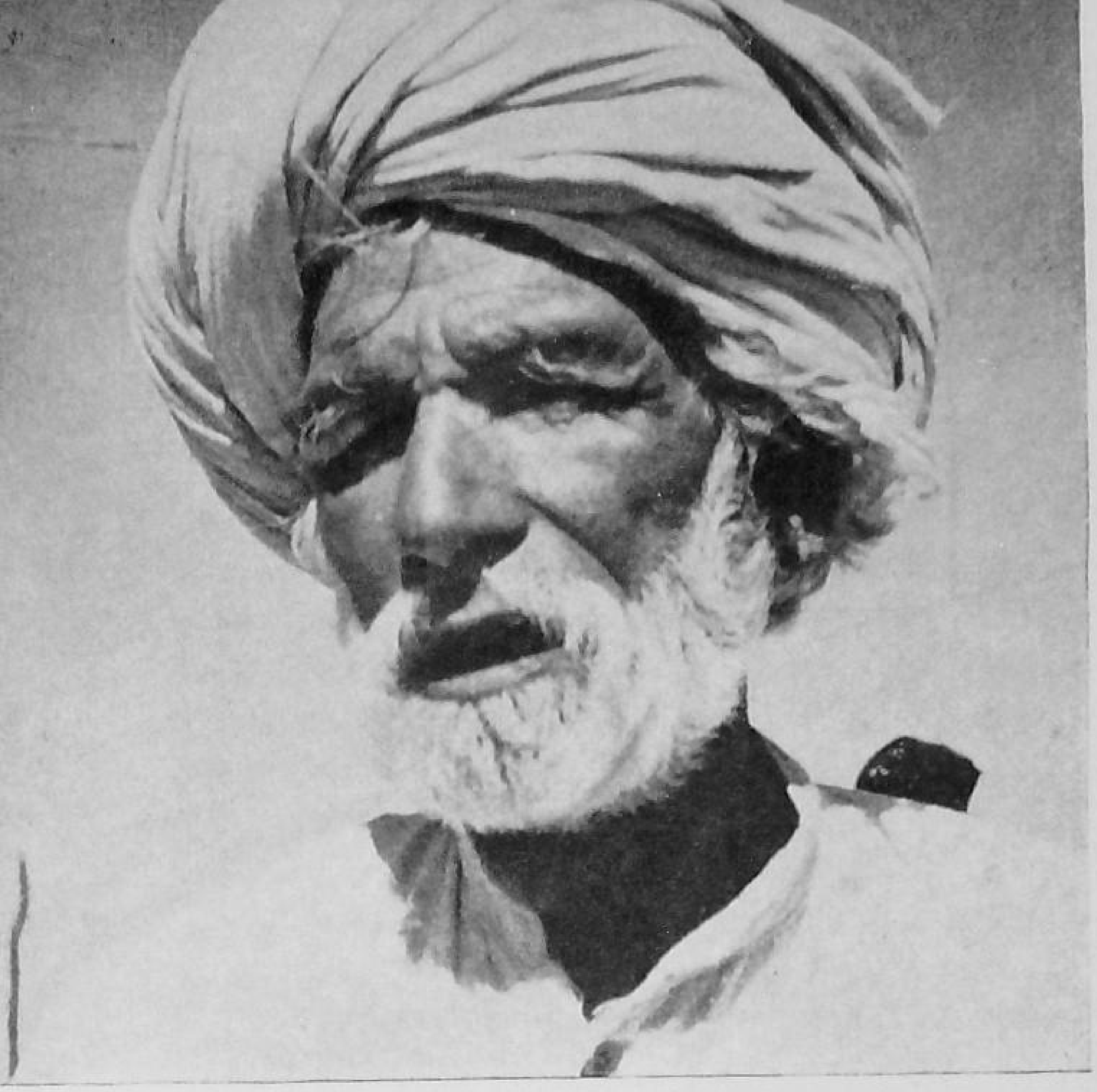
As a result of all these factors, the non-cultivators held in proprietary right anything from 10 to 25% of the total cultivated areas in each of the districts. Since this area was always bought by them after careful inspection and weighing the pros and cons, it was invariably very good land. Although they did not cultivate their land with their own hands, they took keen interest in its development, and were a progressive factor in agriculture. Says Darling "In at least one part of the province, the south-west, agriculture owes much to the townsman. As long ago as 1859, the comparative prosperity of Multan was due mainly to the efforts of the non-agriculturist Arora, who by his labour and capital greatly improved the productive power of the soil; and even now the Arora, or *kirar* as he is called, is better than the ordinary landlord, not only in Multan but also in the adjoining districts of Dera Ghazi Khan, Muzaffargarh and Jhang. In all three, he is the only progressive influence in an otherwise stagnant neighbourhood. If, for instance, a well has a covering of thatch to protect the ever-circling bullocks from the sun, if mango trees line the water-courses, or if capital has been sunk in the land, it is almost certain to be due to his energy. Though he seldom ploughs himself, he supervises his labourers minutely, and rarely gives his land out to be wasted by tenants. Half the sugar-cane of the district is in his hands, and he is responsible for the only tube-well that has been sunk. Further north, in Mianwali, it was an Arora who introduced gram into the Thal, to the great advantage of the tract, and it is an Arora who is manager of the experimental farm at Lyallpur and also at Rawalpindi. In more than one district the most progressive landlord is a non-agriculturist, and in the canal colonies, though he may be as much an absentee as the zemindar, he looks after his land as he would after any other kind of investment, and occasionally attempts to develop it. This a member of the landed gentry rarely tries to do; and in the western Punjab (as in Sicily) instead of improving it, he is more likely to mortgage it in order to purchase more".

KHATRIS AND ARORAS

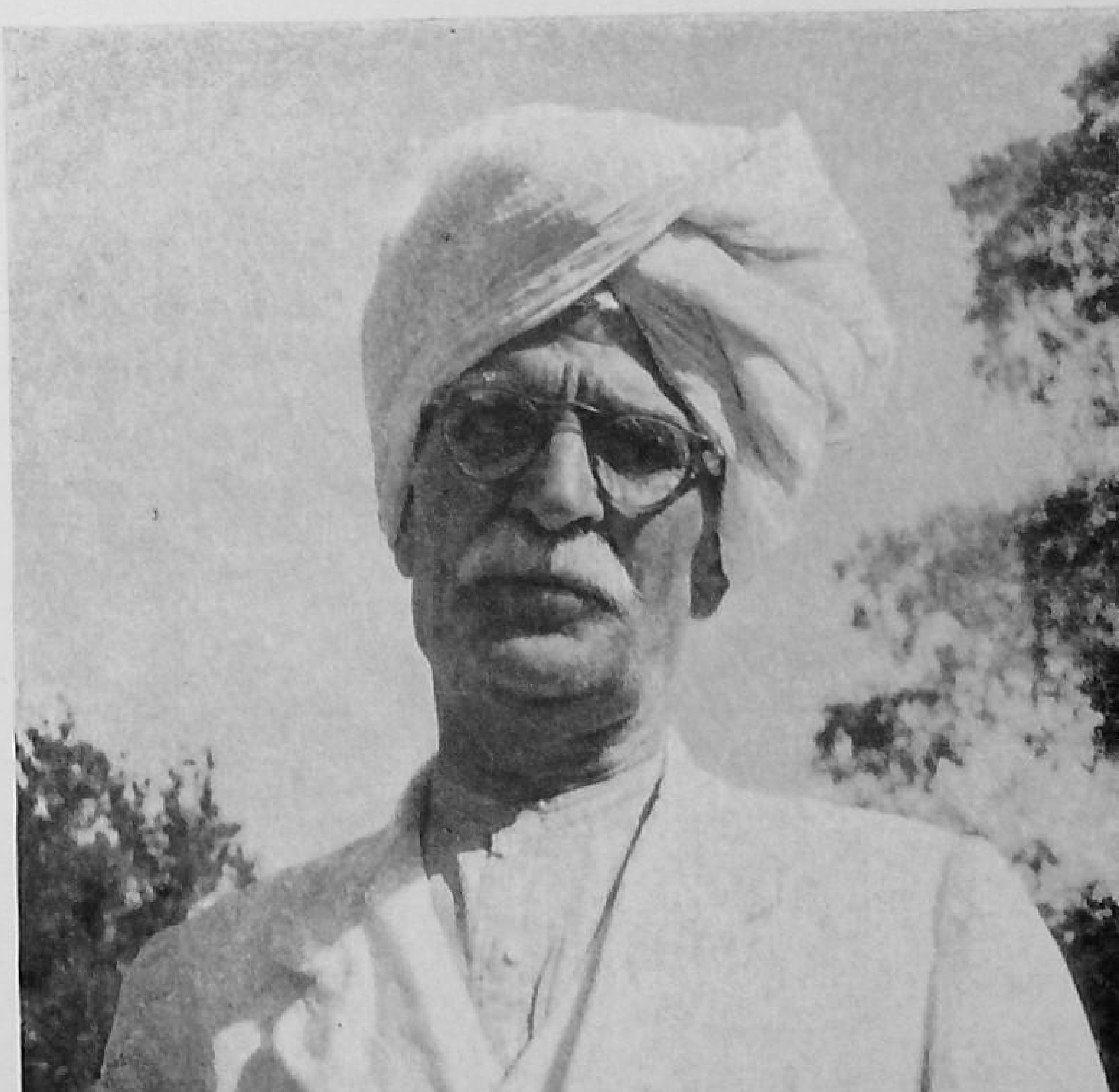
The main castes among the non-cultivators were the Khatris, Aroras and Brahmins. Although a sprinkling of each of these classes was found in all the districts, either the Khatris or the Aroras would predominate in any particular district. For instance, Gujranwala and Dipalpur tahsil in Montgomery were the strongholds of the Khatris, while in Multan, Jhang and Mianwali and Muzaffargarh etc. the Aroras predominated.

The Khatris of West Punjab are known for their intelligence, enterprise and good looks. Wherever the Khatri has gone, he has made a mark, and carved a comfortable place for himself in the local economy. Even when transplanted in other States, they have flourished and invariably out-shone their rivals. With regular features, straight Aryan nose, and light complexion, a Khatri can easily be marked out from among a crowd of Punjabis. Their women are known for their beauty and grace. Their departure from West Punjab has deprived the Pakistani towns of colour and charm, while the towns of East Punjab and other States in North India look gay and bright. The Khatris are very sharp business-men, worldly wise, and money-minded. Even when a Khatri falls ill, and you ask him about his health, he would invariably reply that he has recovered to the extent of "4 or 8 annas". Whenever they apply themselves to agriculture, they prove themselves to be a force for progress and modernisation of farming methods.

Whether Khatris or Aroras, they were the traders, shop-keepers and bankers of the districts in West Punjab. A remark about the Attock Hindus in the District Gazetteer may be applied to all the Hindus in these parts. It says "With the exception of Mohyals and a few Jagirdars and faqirs and those in Government service, and lawyers, all the Hindus live by trade and money-lending." For a successful prosecution of these professions, and for reasons of security they lived in towns or large villages. The difference of religion also mattered little. Whether Hindus or Sikhs, they practised identical profession. There were, however, a few notable exceptions, the Khatris of Gujranwala for instance. The District Gazetteer says about them,



An Arora land-
owner from
Muzaffargarh.



A Khatri landlord
from Jhelum.

"It has to be borne in mind that the Khatris of this district are not, as elsewhere solely devoted to commercial pursuits or to service under Government. Many of them are Sikhs, and under Sikh rule they played a large part in public affairs, both civil and military. The most successful Sikh administrator Dewan Sawan Mal of Akalgarh, and the most famous Sikh General, Sardar Hari Singh Nalwa were Khatris of this district, and number of them might be mentioned who won renown both as soldiers and as governors."

We have noticed the managerial part of the Arora and the Khatri in the development of agriculture. A small proportion of them, however, abandoned their hereditary professions, and took to cultivation with their own hands the land that they had bought. Thus the Bhatias, or the Chaudhries, as the leading men among them were called, had a firm hold on the land in the neighbourhood of Shujabad, and were renowned for their successful agriculture. Similarly, some of the Aroras in Muzaffargarh district and the Brahmins in Gujarkhan tahsil of Rawalpindi district, were also agriculturists. But the most remarkable of all were the Mohyals of Jhelum district, who were hereditary agriculturists and soldiers, and seldom, if ever, practised trade or money-lending.

NON-MUSLIM POPULATION OF EACH DISTRICT OF WEST PUNJAB (1941 CENSUS)

S. No. District	Rural	Urban
1. Lahore (excluding ¼ of Kasur)	371677	623237
2. Sialkot (including Shakargarh)	526895	593184
3. Gujranwala	194036	269528
4. Sheikhupura	262800	310164

S. No. District	Rural	Urban
5. Gujrat	121632	159343
6. Shahpur	103769	163003
7. Jhelum	41943	66625
8. Rawalpindi	52247	157038
9. Attock	31805	64747
10. Mianwali.	48982	70061
11. Montgomery	353490	410539
12. Lyallpur	432642	518787
13. Jhang	97405	142895
14. Multan	221224	326422
15. Muzaffargarh	73794	96775
16. D. G. Khan	38683	68672
	2973024	4041020

CHAPTER 6

TEMPORARY ALLOTMENT OF EVACUEE LAND

THE migrant rural population was sustained for 2½ years, the interregnum between the migration and the quasi-permanent allotment of land, through a system of land allotments which later on came to be known as temporary allotments. Each family was given a plough unit, i.e. about 10 acres of land, regardless of its holding in Pakistan. No distinction was made between a tenant and a land-holder and both were equally eligible for allotment of evacuee land.

PLAN FOR DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION

The scheme of temporary allotment of evacuee land was conceived in the beginning of September, 1947. It was decided to settle the agricultural section of the displaced persons arriving in India in evacuee villages, where land and houses were available because of the evacuation of the Muslims. A plan for the even distribution of the displaced peasantry in the various districts of East Punjab was drawn, indicating where the persons belonging to a particular district in West Punjab were to be settled on land. Handbills explaining the plan in Urdu and Punjabi were freely distributed in relief camps in India and Pakistan so that many persons before they even crossed the Border knew to what place they should go to get allotment of land. Concentration of too many persons in some districts and too few in others was avoided as a result of this plan. There was still another gain from this. Since particular areas in East Punjab were earmarked for persons belonging to particular districts from West Punjab, these persons got easily concentrated in the areas earmarked for them, and a very large measure of

homogeneity was secured. Thus in their sojourn in a land which was more or less foreign to them, the displaced persons were surrounded by people who knew and understood them, and who were facing similar problems. This in no small measure contributed to their psychological rehabilitation.

GROUP ALLOTMENTS

The temporary allotments of evacuee land were, as a rule, given to groups of families in preference to individuals. In the early phase of migration, friends and relatives, because of insecurity and uncertainty about the future, collected together and formed small groups. Government also found it easier to deal with these groups than dealing with individuals or single families. Each group selected an intelligent and influential person as its spokesman, who was called the Group Leader. It was through him that the Patwari of the village or the Halqa revenue officer dealt with that group. The advantages of the group system for quick distribution of land as well as for the happy and successful settlement of displaced persons in villages which they had never seen or heard of before are obvious. Living together among friends and relatives or in their own *bradari* gave them a sense of security in these distant and foreign lands and helped in their mental rehabilitation. There was an advantage from the point of view of cultivation also. All of them did not individually have the wherewithal of agriculture like bullocks and implements. Working in groups they could pool together their man-power, bullocks and implements and thus, to a certain extent, overcome their shortages. Group allotments should not be confused with group-cultivation. The allottees were not obliged to cultivate jointly the area allotted to a group. If a particular allottee at any stage wanted to cultivate his share separately, he was at liberty to have it demarcated.

Unless the evacuee area in a village was very small, it was rarely that a whole village went to one group because the strength of groups generally did not exceed twenty families. Larger villages contained three or four or even

more groups. At the time of the quasi-permanent allotment, a very large number of these temporary allottees were confirmed in the villages of their temporary allotment, and thus a homogeneity was achieved in the rural resettlement.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE

After the farmers had been put on land, financial assistance was given to them by Government through taccavi loans. These loans were for various purposes, but the food loans and loans for the purchase of seed and bullocks were the most popular ones. Food loans were advanced at the rate of Rs. 3|8|- per adult and Rs. 2|- per child to displaced persons living in the villages to enable them to tide over the period, their dispersal from relief camp and the raising of their first crop. The least popular of the loans were those for repair of houses and wells. With the talk of quasi-permanent allotment in the air nobody wanted to invest in the houses and wells which he may have to leave. Due to the disturbed conditions there was also a lack of building material and equipment for wells. In all, the Government advanced the following amounts as taccavi loans for various purposes during the phase of temporary allotments.

1.	Bullocks.	1,14,52,864
2.	Seed.	69,13,554
3.	Implements.	16,55,219
4.	Fodder.	8,53,131
5.	Food.	82,85,670
6.	Repair of houses.	1,66,852
7.	Repair of wells.	1,36,807
8.	Rural artisans.	6,61,175
	Total :- Rs.	3,01,25,272

These are quite impressive figures but when we remember that the number of families settled on land was 2½ lakhs, and each one of them needed financial assistance very badly, the amounts advanced were hardly adequate.

SPECIAL LEASES

The Temporary Allotment Scheme was essentially a measure of relief for the self-cultivators only because the area that was given on allotment was just enough to provide a living for a family if it cultivated this area with its own hands. The bigger landholders who did not cultivate their land but used to let it out on rent or on crop sharing basis, could not get much advantage from this scheme. They, therefore, represented to Government that they should be given larger areas. In answer to their persistent requests for some relief, Government sanctioned a scheme of leases for those who had abandoned areas exceeding 100 acres on the following scale :—

Area abandoned (acres of irrigated or equivalent area)	**Special lease** (acres)
100-150	20
150-200	25
200-300	35
300-400	45
400-500	50
500-1000	75
1000-2000	150
2000-3000	250
3000-4000	350
4000 or more	400

Although the scheme of temporary allotments because of its simplicity looks very unimpressive on paper, it worked very well in practice and did a lot of good to the displaced agriculturists as well as to the country. Almost the entire evacuee area was taken up for cultivation, the only portions remaining unallotted being some unirrigated tracts in Hissar and Gurgaon districts or land in the sub-montane area or in the river-beds. Even in the midst of the great migration, there was comparatively little loss to the agricultural production of the State. A majority of the land-

holders secured allotments, and those who could not were generally non-cultivators who were not dependent on land alone for their living. Instead of being a burden on the State and drawing free rations in relief camps the displaced agriculturists became a valuable asset to the economy of the State and helped to increase food production in the country. A great change took place in the food position of the State. The districts that fell to the share of East Punjab at the time of the Partition had always been deficit in food. After the Partition, however, when the displaced agriculturists started cultivation they turned it into a surplus area which began to export food-grains to other parts of India. It had also a very great bearing on the law and order position in the State. Except through this scheme under which each person was given land and a house, and had something of his own to do, it would have been a problem to control masses of desperate people who flowed into East Punjab and roamed about in towns and villages unknown and unidentified.

UNCERTAINTY ABOUT CHANGE OF POSSESSION

There was one factor that militated against the temporary allottees getting full benefit from these allotments. During the greater part of the period of these allotments the quasi-permanent allotment of evacuee land always appeared round the corner. Government aimed at delivering possession of evacuee land on a quasi-permanent basis at the end of each crop that came after Kharif, 1948. The quasi-permanent allotment of land thus kept casting its shadow on the full utilization of temporary allotments. The latter certainly would have gained in status and utility if its life had been more accurately forecast and better cultivation would have been ensured. But because of the complicated nature and gigantic proportions of the quasi-permanent allotment operation the Government was unable to fore-cast the time that it would take. From time to time people were told that they will have to move to their new land at the end of the current crop. This always kept them on their toes and also made them pathetic and callous towards the condition of

evacuee houses and wells, which suffered a good deal of damage.

LANDLESS LABOURERS AND TENANTS

It has been mentioned that a feature of the temporary allotment scheme was that the landholder as well as the tenant were entitled to equal treatment. Since no scrutiny was possible under the circumstances, many landless agricultural labourers and other persons belonging to the class of village servants also succeeded in securing allotments of land. It was altogether a new experiment, and created some psychological changes of doubtful utility to the rural economy. Everyone became a landholder and began to despise his own profession. Artisans like cobblers and weavers had a tendency to forsake their useful ancestral professions, merely to acquire the doubtful dignity of being landholders, and indulged in inefficient cultivation, for naturally they would ill-compare with Jats, Sainis and Kambohs whose hereditary occupation is farming. These changes are exemplified by the retort which a village servant generally made when asked by a landholder of the old village to do a bit of work for him. "You own 10 acres of land" the former would say, "and I also own 10 acres. Then why should you lord it over me?" This attitude strikes at the root of self-sufficient economy of the village, and is particularly harmful to village life in its present shattered condition. "I stout, thou stout who will carry the dust out"? says the old proverb very pertinently.

Not only did this system of allotments affect the thinking of the rural artisans and labourers but also of some of the politicians from urban areas. They took a fancy to this system in which no consideration was given to a person's holding in Pakistan and every body was treated alike. Somehow they considered it akin to the abolition of Zamindari. They tried to resist any new system of allotments based on the abandoned holdings of the displaced landholders. It was after a great deal of effort that the protagonists of the present scheme under which the allotment of each person is in some sort of a proportion to his Pakistan holding, were able to persuade the Government

to their point of view.

The temporary allotment of evacuee land provided some occupation and means of subsistence to the displaced farmers, and thus created an atmosphere of comparative quiet in which allotment work could be carried on. Those who worked at Jullundur Secretariat, know that it was not very quiet, outside the barbed wire enclosure, but things would have been much worse if nobody had had anything to do and progress of work would have been slower.

In another respect also the temporary allotments had a bearing on the quasi-permanent allotment of evacuee land which followed. They set the pattern of quasi-permanent allotment and decided its outline. The earmarking of particular districts of East Punjab for West Punjab districts to which a reference has already been made, was in the main, adhered to in quasi-permanent allotment of evacuee land. An overwhelming majority of the temporary allottees remained where they were sitting as temporary allottees. They were, in a way, outside the discretionary powers of officers who were allotting land on quasi-permanent basis.

CHAPTER 7

QUASI-PERMANENT ALLOTMENT OF EVACUEE LAND

AT quite an early stage in the migration of populations it became clear to the Punjab Government that this migration was going to be a permanent one. There was obviously no idea in displaced persons' returning to the country which they had left for very good reasons only a few months back. Therefore, as soon as arrangements for temporary settlement were complete, government began to concentrate on some sort of a permanent distribution of evacuee land among displaced landholders which would also be related to their holdings abandoned in Pakistan. It was decided that the evacuee area in Punjab and Pepsu should be utilised for the settlement of displaced landholders from West Punjab only, and of such others from West Pakistan as were of Punjabi extraction. In February, 1948, a Press Note was issued announcing that the original scheme of temporary allotment would be replaced by a revised scheme, in which possession would not be disturbed and allotments would bear some proportion to holdings abandoned in West Pakistan.

It is reasonable to presume that people had entertained visions of some such system when they abandoned their homes. Before packing up they persuaded the Patwaris of their village to make out copies of the revenue records, showing how much land stood in their name, and carried these copies as precious documents. They had some sort of a conviction that it was this area that they were abandoning which will ultimately determine the size of their future holdings.

At this stage Government had no record in its possession to show how much area displaced persons had abandoned. Complete data was not available even about

the credit side. The revenue records of large numbers of villages in which evacuee lands are situated were lost, destroyed, or stolen during the disturbances. In Hoshiarpur district, for instance, there existed only 867 jamabandis out of a total of 1,515; in Ludhiana 506 out of 691. The only source of information about the abandoned area was the displaced persons themselves. They were, therefore, invited to give this information in the shape of claims for land. Since these claims were to form the basis of resettlement, it was important that they should be accurate. Severe penalties were provided for submission of false claims. A displaced person giving a false or exaggerated claim was liable to punishment with rigorous imprisonment up to five years, or fine up to Rs. 5,000, or both. In addition to these penalties, Deputy Commissioners were authorised to disqualify from allotment any person who had submitted false claim, and to cancel, either in whole or in part, any allotment which may have been made on the basis of a false claim.

VERIFICATION OF CLAIMS

Arrangements for registration of claims were made at the offices of tehsils and sub-tehsils of East Punjab. The period for receiving these claims was from the 10th March to the 10th April, 1948. In all, 5,17,401 persons filed claims to land at all these centres. These claims were then collected at the Jullundur Secretariat for analysis and tabulation. The first half of May was an important fortnight. After a couple of weeks' very strenuous work by some 1,100 workers in the Jullundur Secretariat, proposals for land resettlement, evaluation of tenures, evaluation of lands in East and West Punjab and in the States, and allocation of districts and tehsils, were taken to Simla for discussion in the Provincial Relief and Rehabilitation Board, and for consideration of the Government. The stage was set for immediate action to make quasi-permanent allotments in terms of standard acres to enable allottees to begin afresh with effect from Kharif 1948. One serious obstacle, however, blocked the immediate programme.

It was estimated that the claims received contained an

overall exaggeration of about 25 per cent. It was not considered proper to proceed with the work of land allotment on the basis of these claims. For one thing, such a procedure would have given an unfair advantage to those who had given false or exaggerated claims over those who had stated their holdings correctly. And for another, the inflated claims would have further increased the large difference between the area abandoned and the area available. To eliminate this exaggeration, and to arrive at each person's correct claim it was decided to have the claims verified by other persons from the old village of the claimant. This verification was to be done not individually but by a Panchayat of all the claimants from a particular village in West Pakistan. The idea was that a revenue officer would read out each person's claim before the Panchayat, who would then verify it. They were required to assemble at a certain place on a notified date. The programme for village assemblies was printed in the form of a brochure. Copies of this brochure were extensively circulated well in advance, so that each person wherever he was settled could know where the claimants from his village were to present themselves to verify each other's claim. As a result of this publicity, attendance at these village assemblies was generally good. As each claim was read out to the Panchayat by the revenue officer, the Panchayat confirmed its correctness or otherwise.

The policy of land allotment could not be shaped on inaccurate data. The anti-social element, among the displaced land-holders, who indulged in making false claims, or exaggerated their areas considerably contributed to the delay in quasi-permanent allotment of land. At the spur of the moment it was not possible to take action against the persons who had filed exaggerated claims, as the entire staff was engaged in allotment work. However, these persons met their doom in due course when the work relating to issue of allotment orders was completed. Those persons who had filed false claims were prosecuted, and in many cases were given deterrent sentences of imprisonment. Those who had filed exaggerated claims were subjected to cuts in their allotted area, and this proved to be

Refugee farmers waiting outside the barbed wire enclosure of the Land Resettlement Secretariat at Jullundur.

A petition writer writing an application.

a very heavy punishment indeed.

As a result of enquiries and explanations, claims and contradictions, the revenue officer had at the end of the day a fairly correct picture of ownership of land in a village. He put all the information obtained as a result of these enquiries in a prescribed form, and sent it back to the headquarters at Jullundur. In this work of verification of land claims, the Panchayats played an extremely useful role. They displayed their traditional honesty and fearlessness, and were very helpful to the administration in arriving at the correct area abandoned by each person. This verification work was satisfactorily accomplished in respect of all those villages which had a fair number of displaced landholders. But in the case of such villages, (specially in Multan and Rawalpindi Divisions) which had only two or three families of landholders, which even when assembled could not be called a Panchayat, the verification was inadequate or not done at all. In many cases the claimants did not arrive for verification.

Along with the verification of each claim, the claimant was asked as to where he wanted to receive quasi-permanent allotment. The preferences indicated by individuals were noted and considered later. But to an extraordinary degree applications giving new preferences poured in when the work of allotment was actually begun. It is significant that most of the claimants when asked where they would like to settle simply said "We may be settled along with other persons of our village".

EXCHANGE OF REVENUE RECORDS WITH PAKISTAN

The verification took place from the 17th August up-to the end of October, 1948. Early in July, however, discussions had taken place between the East Punjab and West Punjab Governments on the subject of exchange of revenue records. It was decided that each Government would prepare copies for the use of the other. The Governments of East Punjab and Pepsu, on the one side, and the Government of West Punjab, on the other, agreed to exchange copies of jamabandis (revenue records) of all evacuee villages on either side. This was a very useful agreement,

since the arrival of records gave a firm basis to land allotment work.

After verification, all claims were again collected at the Rehabilitation Secretariat at Jullundur. They were then sorted, categorized, and tabulated so as to give an idea of the requirements for various groups of landholders. On the basis of these tables land allotment policy was framed. Non-official opinion was closely associated with the work of framing the land allotment policy. This was done by means of a Rehabilitation Board which consisted of representatives of various groups of displaced persons and refugee M.L.A.'s. A number of meetings of this Board were held at Simla and Jullundur. Tentative proposals were placed by the Rehabilitation Department before the members, who gave their opinion after they had debated these proposals in the meetings, and discussed them in their sub-committees.

The staff at the Jullundur Secretariat had been increasing progressively since April, 1948, when the claims received at the tehsil offices were first brought there. In October, 1948, when the revenue record was received from Pakistan, there was a further marked increase in the number of Patwaris, Kanungos, Naib Tehsildars, and Tehsildars for the work of extracting the holding of each claimant as given in those records. This was a very complicated task. For instance one claimant in a village in Chiniot tehsil owned 304|26797 of a 21 acre holding. His share when worked out came to less than one fourth of an acre. Similarly another person in the same village was entitled to 49|3040 of a 1¼ acre holding. His share when determined after laborious calculations came to one fiftieth of an acre. This information was however worked out in the case of all claimants by the end of April, 1949.

A few more weeks were given to the work of linking up the claims in respect of land owned by the same person at different places. This was very important since the policy was that even if a man owned land at 20 places in West Punjab he should receive a consolidated allotment so far as possible in one village. This work was among the most difficult processes leading to the quasi-permanent allot-

ment of land, but it was also very essential work. There was a separate claim for a holding in one district. Thus if a person owned land in three districts, he had put in three different claims and there were no cross references on these claims to show that all of them related to the same person. This complicated work of linking claims was spun through in June, 1949.

Even with all the efforts of the department, a large number of claims could not be consolidated, and in one case a land-holder was given allotment of land in as many as eleven villages scattered in two districts. On collection of their allotment orders these persons were given an opportunity to apply for consolidated allotment, and all those who applied were given consolidated allotment in one village. This was a great gain to displaced land-holders, whose holdings were scattered in many villages in West Pakistan and they now enjoyed the benefit of a consolidated allotment which they could manage more economically.

Material was now ready for the allotment of land. In spite of this there was great nervousness and lack of faith among the public. So huge and complicated was the task that nobody believed it could ever be done. Previous unattained targets of Government for this work lent weight to this opinion. Government was, however, anxious to allay this nervousness, it was also eager to rush this work through which had been in hand for quite a long time.

The strength of the staff was further increased in June, 1949. In the peak period there were some 7,000 officials working in the Rehabilitation Secretariat at Jullundur —almost the population of a small town. It was quite a job to provide residential and office accommodation for such a large number of officials. A city of tents grew up around the Secretariat overnight with regular streets and street lights, baths and latrines, ration and cloth depots, a Mandir and a Gurdawara. Some thirty senior officers were lodged in the newly constructed houses in the Model Town of Jullundur, and the remaining were accommodated in tents. The buildings of local schools and colleges which were closed on account of summer holidays were acquired, and land allotment staff of some of the districts was accommodated

in these buildings. There was a great increase in the number of visitors to Jullundur. Hordes of nervous displaced landholders tramped the roads of the city, thronged its eating shops, and crowded its transport. They wanted assistance from the Patwari or from anybody else who was prepared to help them for love or money in getting allotment of land in a good village. The quality of the soil, accessibility, nearness to a town, and settlement among people, one knew and liked, were great attractions.

SCHEME OF ALLOCATION

As the displaced peasantry started pouring into East Punjab, persons belonging to particular districts in West Punjab were directed to proceed to specific districts in East Punjab and PEPSU. The distribution of families of landholders which thus occurred forms the background of the quasi-permanent scheme of allocation. Those who had migrated from East Punjab to West Punjab as colonists returned to their ancestral villages in East Punjab. Others went to the specific districts assigned to them. Displaced landholders from Lahore and non-colonists of Montgomery were settled in Ferozepur; displaced landholders from Rawalpindi, Sheikhupura and Gujranwala in Karnal and PEPSU; those from Shahpur and Gujrat in Ambala; those from Multan in Hissar; land-holders from Jhang and Muzaffargarh in Rohtak; those from D. G. Khan and Mianwali in Gurgaon, and those from Sialkot in Hoshiarpur, Gurdaspur, and Amritsar. The evacuee-land available in Amritsar could not meet the demand of even the colonists of that district. The overflow was therefore accommodated in the neighbouring districts of Jullundur, Hoshiarpur and Ferozepur. This in rough outline is the scheme of allocation. An effort has been made to settle the population of each district and tehsil of West Punjab in as compact an area as possible.

THE STANDARD ACRE

Considering the diversity in soil, irrigation and rainfall in various districts of West Pakistan, and of districts in East Punjab and PEPSU, the necessity of evolving a com-

mon measure was felt. To meet this demand, the standard acre was evolved which is a unit of value based on productivity of land. An acre of land which could yield 10 to 11 maunds of wheat was given the value of '16 Annas' and was termed a standard acre. The physical area of a standard acre thus varies and all classes of land in all assessment circles were given a valuation in Annas so that they could be measured easily in terms of standard acres. In the *barani* areas of Hissar district where the valuation of one acre was 4 Annas, 4 ordinary acres went to make a standard acre. In ordinary canal-irrigated tracts where the value of an acre was 16 Annas an ordinary acre was the equivalent of a standard acre.

HOW AN INDIVIDUAL'S FIELDS ARE DETERMINED

The unit for purposes of land allotment is the village. The first step taken in the allotment of evacuee land of a village was the drawing of a list of allottees according to provinces, districts, tehsils, and villages in the Urdu alphabetical order. If the allottees were from more than one province of West Pakistan, the provinces, such as, West Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan etc., were arranged according to the Urdu alphabetical system. Further, if the allottees were from more than one district, the districts were similarly arranged, then tehsils and then villages. When a person held land in more than one province, district, tehsil, or village of West Pakistan, his name was arranged in the list in accordance with the name of the village, tehsil, district and province with the parcha claim of which the rest of his parcha claims were consolidated. Where groups and relations wanted to resettle together, the whole group was placed in the list in which its first member came in the alphabetic order. Small allottees to whom the area due was 1/8th of a standard acre only or less were arranged together according to the Urdu alphabet at the beginning of the list of the allottees as the very first item. The list of allottees once prepared and signed by the Resettlement Officer was not altered later on.

When the list of allottees was ready, the next question was to consider the quality of soil in the village. The

land close to the village *abadi* is usually fertile while the land far away is not so fertile. Apart from this, the texture of soil and the means of irrigation available were also to be considered. In some villages, particularly in Hoshiarpur district, the disparity in soils was such that while there were some blocks of land in the same village which were of mixed loam, and highly fertile, there were some blocks which were sandy. To ensure fair distribution of land among the allottees, the land of the village, if it was of more than one quality, was divided into two or three blocks in which the allottees received proportionate share. Measurement of fields usually starts from the north-western corner of the village. The allottee whose name was at serial No. 1 obtained his allotment first till the entire area due to him was exhausted. In some cases if seriality of plot numbers was strictly adhered to, irregular blocks resulted. In such cases Resettlement Officers were authorised to make compact blocks. When allotment of the first allottee in the list was finished, the turn of the next allottee came. Exceptions were made only in those cases in which an allottee was landlord of certain fields of which an evacuee was occupancy tenant and he had applied for the allotment of those very fields on valuation basis, or when an allottee owned land served by an outlet, well or tubewell in the neighbourhood of which certain evacuee fields were situated and he had requested for the allotment of those fields; or in hilly tracts especially in Kangra district, in Una tehsil of Hoshiarpur district, and in Nala Garh and Kanda Ghat tehsils of PEPSU, where colonists were given fields as near to their own land as could be possible. Shares of allottees in the evacuee irrigation wells were fixed in the proportions in which the area irrigated by a well was allotted to them. The system of allotment of fields was of a mechanical nature, and scope for mal-practices was very limited. If a Patwari wanted to favour some one by breaking the seriality of plot numbers, it could be detected. The method adopted for allotment of fields ensured impartiality, and thus inspired confidence among the claimants for land. This was altogether a new experiment in Revenue administration and its application in Con-

solidation of Holdings work was likely to ensure speed.

The 25th July, 1949, is an important date in the land resettlement operations. It was on that day that the issue of allotment orders began. In spite of the fact that this date had been announced in advance as the target date, it was a very big news for East Punjab. From two to five thousand allotment orders were issued everyday. Progress was good during the months of August, September and October.

REVIEW OF LAND ALLOTMENTS

In November, 1949, however, when about 2½ lakh allotment orders had been issued, there came a break in these operations. The allottees, since the beginning of the issue of allotment orders had had very little opportunity to express their reactions to the allotments made to them. It was, therefore, decided at this stage to review all completed allotments. The review was to take into consideration all complaints and all cases in which for any reason sitting temporary allottees had been moved. In considering the complaints the object was to ensure that close relations were settled together, that no sitting allottee who was entitled to receive allotment of land according to grade and quality of land left by him in West Pakistan or according to the district allocated to him was shifted, and that such mistakes as may come to notice were corrected before allottees took possession of land allotted to them. Applications were invited for review; and about one lakh applications were received. Allotment of more than two lakh acres was changed as a result of this review.

An Interview Board, consisting of the Financial Commissioner, Rehabilitation, the Director General, and Additional Director General of Rehabilitation, took up the work of dealing with the review applications. Most of the applications received related to ousting of sitting allottees from the villages where they had received temporary allotment of land and where they were entitled to quasi-permanent allotment. Other applications were from near relations like husbands and wives, real brothers, fathers and sons, uncles and minor nephews, and widows who had re-

ceived allotment of land in separate villages. The Interview Board, not only provided a check on the activities of the lower staff who realized that they could no longer act in an arbitrary fashion, but also provided a forum to aggrieved persons for getting their injustices and grievances redressed. It was like letting in fresh breeze in a stuffy building. Corruption and mal-practices could multiply in an atmosphere of secrecy, such as prevailed within the barbed wire enclosure of the Secretariat building. Ultimately it was found that the job of reviews was too much for the three top officials, and the Additional Deputy Commissioners, who were incharge of Rural Rehabilitation work in the districts and who had also come to Jullundur, were also encouraged to listen to various types of complaints regarding allotment of land. In all 33,000 applications out of 1 lac were accepted, and necessary changes made. The review work provided corrective for wrong and dishonest work, and saved the scheme from crashing under the sheer weight of objections. No doubt, it delayed the progress of work, but it provided a much needed check on the staff, some of whom in the early stages thought that they could do as they liked.

When dealing with illiterate persons, the importance of personal touch and hearing the man cannot be overemphasised. Even the Great Moghul used to hear aggrieved persons who had a tug at his bell of justice. The importance of interviews was realized by the British administrators also very early. Mr. T. D. Forsyth, Commissioner of Lahore, thus advises his Assistant Commissioner of Murree in 1863: "What I wish to say by way of counsel is, that the most trying part of our work in India is to have to listen patiently and appear to be interested in all that a native has to say when he comes to call or appears in court. Many men have acquired an immense reputation amongst natives all through this. This, in fact, has gone far to make M'Leod so revered. It is not that he grants every man's request. But they can go to him in confidence, knowing that they will never be turned hastily away, or be cut short in their story. And, after all, it is an immense relief to a man to have it out."

The importance of interviews and listening to the com-

plaints of aggrieved persons whose whole economic future was at stake in the land allotment scheme was fully realized by the top officials. A large number of applicants used to assemble at the house of the Director General early in the morning. It was impossible to give an interview to a hundred persons at once for the crowd was seldom less than that, but at the same time they could not be turned away. They were given admission chits, known as passes, and they could enter the Secretariat in the afternoon after 3 P.M. Their applications were sorted out and examined by a section of intelligent clerks. The Director General interviewed them enmasse, and passed suitable orders from 5 to 7 P.M. everyday. Even when he reached his house he found another batch squatting there. In fact, the life of the Director General was not different from that of a prisoner, and even in his walks he was pursued by applicants who wanted to be heard. It was a job which required great sympathy for the afflicted persons as well as patience and understanding of their problems. It also required unremitting hard work.

ALLOTMENT ORDER

The allotment order which has been issued to each person entitled to land consists of three parts. The first part states the area in standard acres which is to be allotted, and the name of the village or villages in which the allotment is to be made. The second part gives full particulars of land held by an allottee in West Pakistan on the basis of which allotment has been made. These details were given in order to enable each person to check his account and apply for correction if he found any mistake in it. The third part of the allotment order gave particulars of fields allotted to each individual.

THE DISTRIBUTION OF ALLOTMENT ORDERS

The distribution of allotment orders was done through tehsil offices. When an allotment order was made in the name of a certain person, a chit, called Intimation Card, was also prepared simultaneously. The Intimation Card was meant to inform the allottee about the village, tehsil and district of his allotment and the number of his allot-

ment order. The allottee was further informed that he should collect his allotment order from the office of the tehsil in which allotment had been made to him. The intimation cards were meant to be distributed by hand through lambardars etc., of the village in which the allottee was then known to be residing. This system, however, did not work well because most of the intimation cards remained tied in bundles in the tehsil offices and never reached the addressees.

A successful method of spreading information about the place of allotment, however, was through the enquiry counters at the Secretariat. A counter was set up for each district of West Punjab, and one for Sind and Bahawalpur. A clerk with a village-wise list showing the place of allotment of all the displaced landholders of that district was posted at that counter. A land claimant went to the counter of the district in West Pakistan from which he had hailed, and asked for the information. In a minute's time he was informed about the village of his allotment in East Punjab or Pepsu. An intimation card was also made out for him then and there. This system was started in February, 1949, and was maintained for about a year. Thousands of persons received information at these counters. For those who could not come to Jullundur, there was a system of information through post. The landholders were required to write the particulars of their land to the Department, and an intimation card was sent to them by post. Over 75,000 such applications were received and replies sent.

The distribution of allotment orders continued right to the end of June, 1951. While the sitting allottees, who were mostly self-cultivators, lost no time in collecting their allotment orders, serving soldiers, businessmen, and shopkeepers, who had rehabilitated themselves outside East Punjab, faced considerable difficulty in collecting their allotment orders. They continued to trickle to the Secretariat even after the Target date, i.e. the 30th March, 1951, after which allotments were to be cancelled if the allotment order was not collected. While dealing with a population, a large percentage of which is illiterate, publicity in the newspapers alone does not suffice. In such cases rules have to

be applied in a humane manner, and rigid application of rules would have created great suffering among the displaced land-holders, particularly among the widows, minors, and illiterate farmers, who had very hazy notions about the rules framed by the Rehabilitation Department. The literates among the displaced farmers acquired a good working knowledge of the rules, and became quite familiar with the jargon of the Rehabilitation Department, and could be heard mentioning such English words as, allocation, sitting allottee, over-flow and grade etc. freely. They brought information about the irregular allotments, such as a grade II claimant of land allotted land in grade I village, a person allotted land outside his allocation area etc. In such cases the informers were given due benefit for the information which they conveyed to the Department, and in many cases irregularities committed by the staff were set right.

DELIVERY OF POSSESSION

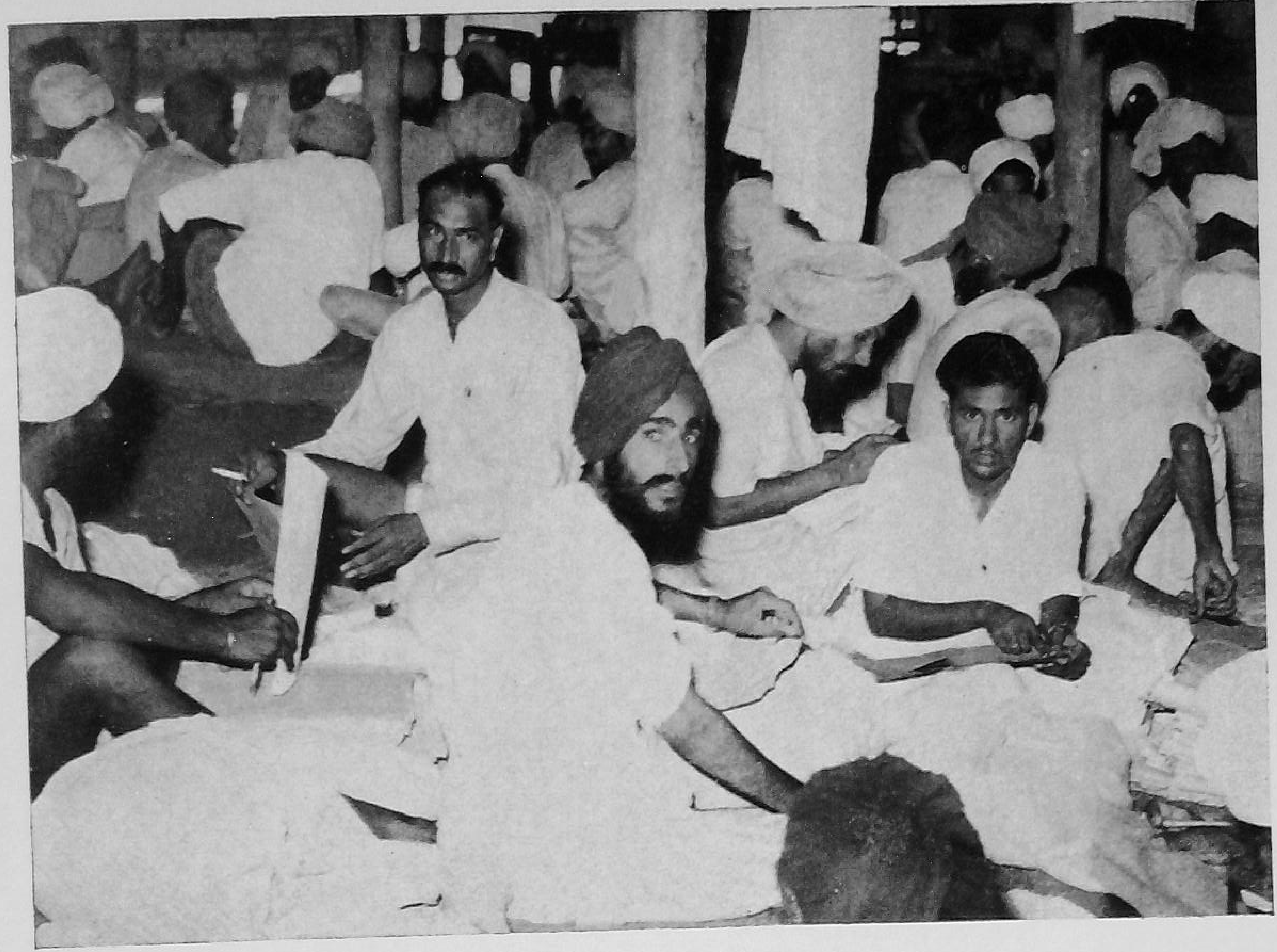
As already explained, the allotment order contained the actual field numbers allotted to the allottee. These field numbers were to be identified on the ground and shown to the allottee. After collecting his allotment order from the tehsil office, the allottee took it to the Patwari of his village who took him round the fields allotted to him and thus delivered possession to him. As the allottee went round the fields led by the Patwari, he strained his brains to be able to remember those fields which were going to be his for all times to come. The work of delivery of possession of allotted land lasted till the end of 1950, and really ended only after March, 1951.

The best part of the evacuee area in the Punjab was in possession of temporary allottees, consisting of displaced landowners as well as tenants since October, 1947. Now that this area was to change hands, it was generally feared that there may be disputes between the outgoing temporary allottees and the incoming quasi-permanent allottees. But all these fears were belied, and contrary to everybody's expectations, possession passed to new allottees everywhere peacefully. This was in a large measure due to the justice of new allotments.

CHECKING OF CORRUPTION

The rules which had been framed for land allotment provided a check on the arbitrariness of the land allotment staff, and their discretion was fettered by the conferment of right for quasi-permanent allotment of land on sitting allottees who were otherwise entitled on the point of view of grade and allocation was one of the biggest checks. Large number of displaced landholders were saved from harassment. Lists of eligible temporary allottees were made in the area of the size of their legal holdings, according to the availability of evacuee area in that village. Those with the largest holdings were shifted to other villages of the same allocation, where area was available to accommodate them. The scheme of grading ensured that persons who were entitled to inferior land were not given allotment of land in villages with superior land. A village, the land of which carried a value of 15½ annas or more, was put in grade I. A village with a value of 13 annas or more, but less than 15½ annas was put in grade II. A village with a value of 10½ annas or more, but less than 13½ annas was put in grade III, and villages with lesser values were put in grade IV. Thus a person who was entitled to grade II land could not obtain allotment in a grade I village, and no official could show favouritism in this matter. Favourably situated villages were classified as suburban or were given special valuation. Villages whose boundaries touched the municipal area were classified as suburban villages. Towns with a population of 50,000 persons or more, according to the census of 1941 were placed in class A; towns with a population of 25,000 to 50,000 in class B; and towns with a population of 15,000 to 25,000 in class C. In the suburban villages allotment was given only to those persons who were eligible for such land, and whose land was classified as suburban in West Pakistan. If after meeting their claims any area was left, it was allotted to sitting allottees entitled to grade I land. This rule also provided a check on favouritism on the part of officials. The alphabetical system of allotment of land further provided a check on the work of the Patwaris.

Corruption is, however, a problem which has got a long

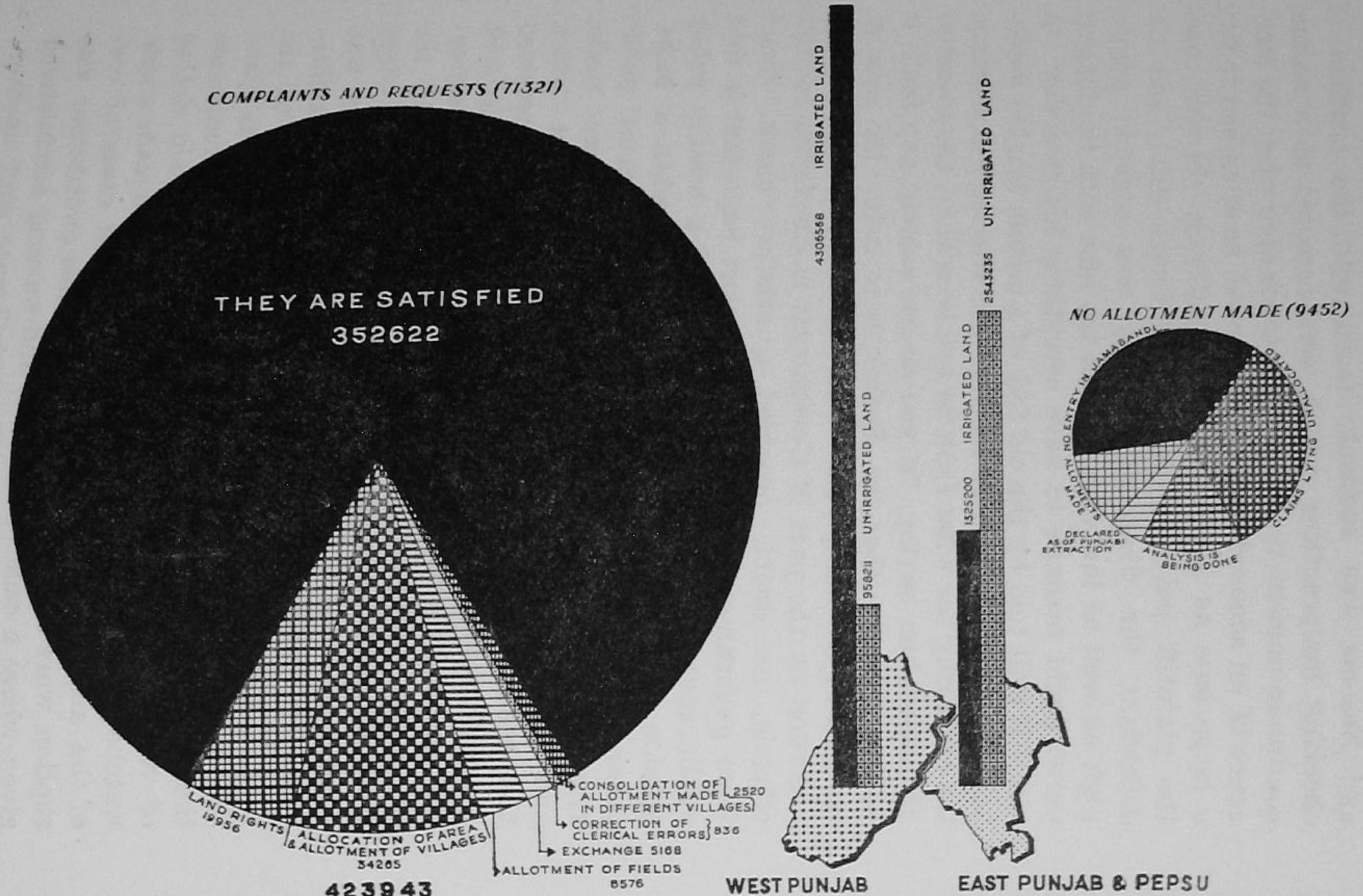


Patwaris at work in the temporary Secretariat at Jullundur.

history behind it. A country with traditions of *Shukrana* and *Nazrana* was suddenly faced with the problem of checking malpractices, which were accepted as a normal routine in ancient times. In olden times even when the innocence of an accused person was proved, he often had to pay a large sum as *Shukrana* or thank-offering. In civil cases the plaintiff paid the *Nazrana* (a forced gift), and the defendant the *Shukrana*. Bribery was common among high as well as low officials, and the man with the longest purse could manage to have everything his own way. A story is still told by the old folk of a certain Moghul governor who fined a merchant Rs. 1,000 for offering him salaams. On enquiring for what fault he had been fined, the governor dismissed him saying, "if you do not commit any fault, it does not mean that the Sarkar is to suffer the loss in revenue by not fining you."

Action on the part of Government in dismissing corrupt officials, no doubt, provided a salutary check. Apart from governmental action what is more important is that public conscience should be stirred, and a healthy public opinion created. It has been seen that when a bribe-taker is caught and is in danger of punishment, public sympathy veers round his favour. Witnesses resile, and thus corrupt persons escape punishment which they merit. In many cases the bribe-givers having received a satisfactory equivalent for the bribe given just keep quiet and do not help the administration. While interviews freely granted and reviews provided a healthy check in the circumstances prevailing, it was also necessary to adopt special methods. Accordingly a special police staff was appointed to keep watch on the officers of the Rehabilitation Department from the highest downwards to the Patwari. Large numbers of them were living in tents round the secretariat, and many of them were offered inducements of various types. The intelligence staff in plain clothes watched persons who met the officials, and also made a note of the activities of officials. All suspected cases of corruption were reported speedily. Suitable punishment was given where a case was proved, and warning administered in the case of suspicion. The intelligence staff uncover-

APPLICATIONS FOR REVIEW



ed a number of cases, but their greatest achievement was that they inspired awe among the subordinate officials, nearly all of whom had the impression that their activities were being watched, and thus kept them on the straight path. It was also found that in many cases false allegations were made by disappointed persons only because the officials concerned did not accept their requests. In such a situation it was as necessary to give protection to Government servants against false charges of corruption.

On account of the review operation, the progress of work received a set-back, and only 50,000 allotment orders were issued during the three months of November, December, 1949, and January, 1950, as compared with the two and a half lakh issued during the previous three months. With the beginning of February, the work again got into stride, and the remaining 2 lakh orders were issued during February and March. On the 11th April, 1950, Dr. Lehna Singh Sethi, the Minister for Rehabilitation announced from the Jullundur Station of All India Radio that the Quasi-permanent Allotment of Land had been completed.

An operation of the dimensions of quasi-permanent allotment of land required team work and cooperative effort on the part of an army of officials. From the Financial Commissioner, Rehabilitation, and Director General, Rehabilitation, downwards to the Patwari, they were called upon to handle an unprecedented problem, the like of which had not been handled by any administration in India before. An army of workers toiled hard to complete this work. It was on account of their hard work that such a gigantic operation was brought to successful conclusion in such a short period. The hours of work during the hot months of July and August were 9 A.M. to 6 P.M. without a break. They were denied holidays, and conditions of work were also hard. They squatted under improvised *chhapars,* and slept under tents. They were poorly clothed against cold and rain in the coldest winter for many years. In spite of excellent medical arrangements, some old patwaris could not stand the rigours of the winter, and died of pneumonia, and became martyrs to the cause of refugee rehabilitation. On the part of top officials

it required not only unremitting hard work, but also qualities of leadership, such as, initiative, capacity to think clearly, and to provide clear guidance in unambiguous terms, so that their orders could be followed by the lowest official. There were no rules or regulations to guide them, and they had to formulate their rules from the various problems which confronted them. In a sense it was an original work of exciting nature which required freshness of mind and a new approach. That the top officials did not lack these qualities is evident from the successful conclusion of the vast operation of quasi-permanent allotment of land. Undoubtedly it imposed a strain on the workers who had to work from early morning till late in the night, and many of them broke down in health, but the joy of work and the feeling that hard work on their part contributed to the mitigation of misery among the refugee farmers was indeed a great satisfaction.

CHAPTER 8

GAP IN AREA AND THE SCHEME OF GRADED CUTS

As against an area of 67 lakh acres of land, equivalent to 39,35,131 standard acres, abandoned by the Hindu-Sikh landholders in West Pakistan, only 47 lakh acres, equivalent to 24,48,830 standard acres, were available in East Punjab and Pepsu. The gap in area to the extent of 20 lakh acres, or 14,86,301 standard acres, i.e. 38 per cent of the total area abandoned, precluded possibilities of full compensation being given to the displaced landholders. The gap in area was bad enough, but the position was actually much worse when we consider factors like fertility of the soil and means of irrigation. Our land-owners left 43 lakh acres of irrigated land as against 13 lakh acres of irrigated area left by the Muslims. Out of the irrigated area left in West Pakistan, 22 lakh acres were perennially irrigated, as against 4 lakh acres of such land left by Muslims in East Punjab and Pepsu.

ECONOMIC HOLDINGS NOT POSSIBLE

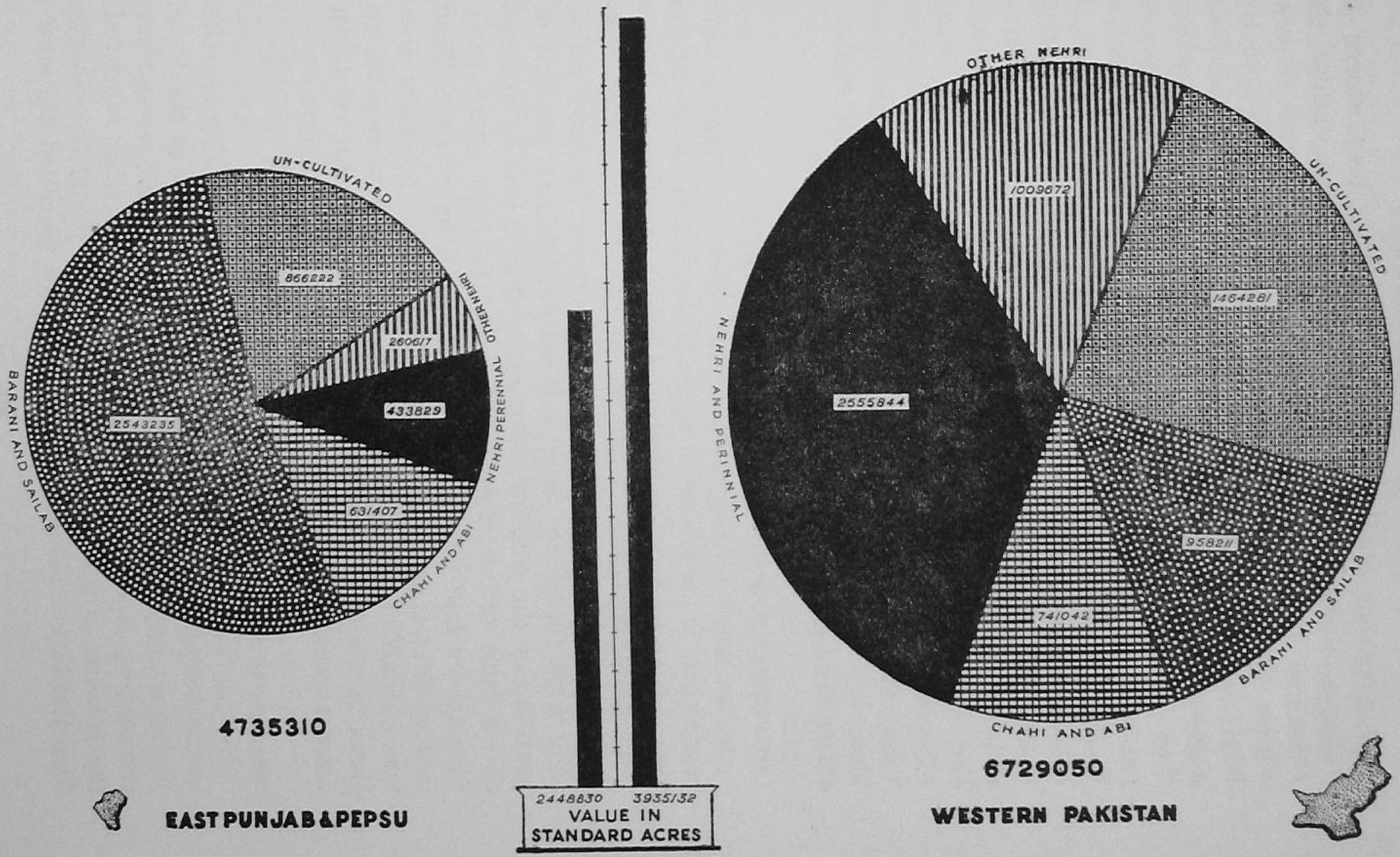
The gap could only be met by imposing cuts on the area abandoned in West Pakistan. Various views prevailed about the imposition of cuts. Those who were in favour of providing an economic holding of 10-20 acres to every displaced family wanted a ceiling to be fixed on the area which could be allotted to any displaced landholder. Land has been allotted to 3.5 lakh allottees, who have actually taken possession of their allotted land. If they were given an economic holding of 20 acres per family, an area of 70 lakh acres was required, as against about 40 lakh acres available. This in itself shows that it was not possible to provide an economic holding to every family of displaced

landholders. Moreover, among the small landholders who owned less than an acre, there were self cultivators like Labana Sikhs from Gujrat, whose average holding was 3 to 4 kanals, Jat Sikhs from Sialkot, Gujranwala, Gujrat and Lahore districts, as well as a very large proportion of shopkeepers who did not cultivate their lands by their own hands. If this course had been followed it would have meant that the middle-class farmers, particularly the colonists, who were the best farmers, would have been hard-hit, and the petty holders, mostly shopkeepers, would have got additional land at the expense of the cultivators. There were some people who advocated that the non-cultivating petty-holders should not be allotted any land, and should be compensated in cash. This would have been resented as discrimination, and it was also doubtful whether funds would have been forthcoming to compensate such a large number of shop-keepers-cum-landholders.

PEASANT PROPRIETORSHIP IN PUNJAB

Land resettlement policy, of which the scheme of graded cuts was an important feature, was shaped when the rest of India was in the throes of a silent agrarian revolution, and represents a compromise; and like all compromises has not completely satisfied various classes of landholders. While the displaced landholders earnestly desired compensation for the land which they were forced to abandon in West Pakistan, the representatives of the Government of India emphasized the rehabilitation aspect disregarding ownership of land. It was a time of flux, and there was a good deal of loose talk about nationalization of land and abolition of Zamindari in East Punjab, particularly in the newspapers which represented the point of view of urbanites, who did not own land, as well as of the leaders of the landless scheduled castes. The slogan 'Land for the cultivator' was attractive enough, particularly among the landless tenants who were given allotments of evacuee land under the scheme of temporary cultivation. Conditions in East Punjab are, however, radically different from the states of U. P. and Bihar, where absentee landlordism is a conspicuous feature of rural economy.

CLASSIFICATION OF AREAS AVAILABLE AND ABANDONED



The absentee landlords of these states own scores of villages, and in many cases even do not know the extent of the area which they own, the amount of rent which their *karindas* collect from the tenants, and the land revenue which they pay to Government. Such absentee landlords in U.P. and Bihar live in towns where they spend most of their time in idleness and luxury, patronizing their courtesans and chewing betel-leaves. While the term 'zamindar' means an absentee landlord in other areas of India, a zamindar in East Punjab is in 95% cases a peasant proprietor who cultivates his land himself, and whose roots are deep in the soil. In fact land in East Punjab in an overwhelming majority of cases is already with the cultivator. In other states of India, where legislation to abolish landlordism is under contemplation, the ideal is to create peasant proprietorship, which already exists in East Punjab.

COMPENSATION VERSUS REHABILITATION

As we have already stated, the scheme of graded cuts represents a compromise between the extreme socialistic view, which ignored ownership of land and emphasised only the rehabilitation aspect, and the views of the displaced landholders who desired full compensation for the land which they were forced to leave in West Pakistan on account of partition of the country. They said that it was on account of no fault of theirs that they left the land which their forefathers had developed with so much hard work. They desired that after satisfying their claims to the extent area was available in East Punjab, the balance should be given to them in the form of land in other parts of India, or as an alternative, they may be given compensation in cash.

BIG LANDHOLDERS

The agrarian reformers, who had a say in shaping the land resettlement policy, regarded the partition of the Punjab as an opportunity for levelling large holdings, and for eliminating absentee landlordism. Those who favoured the scheme of proportionate cuts, which would have benefited the larger holders, argued that the so-called big land-

lords were big in the sense that their past was clinging to them, and as most of them used to reinvest their surplus income in the development of their lands, they had no bank balance to fall back upon. In fact many of them were as impoverished as other refugees. They argued that it was unfair to take advantage of the misfortune which had befallen the refugee landlords, and if any socialistic experiment was to be tried they should not be singled out from the rest of the population of India. If any such scheme was to be tried it should affect the non-evacuee landholders equally who had not suffered on account of the partition.

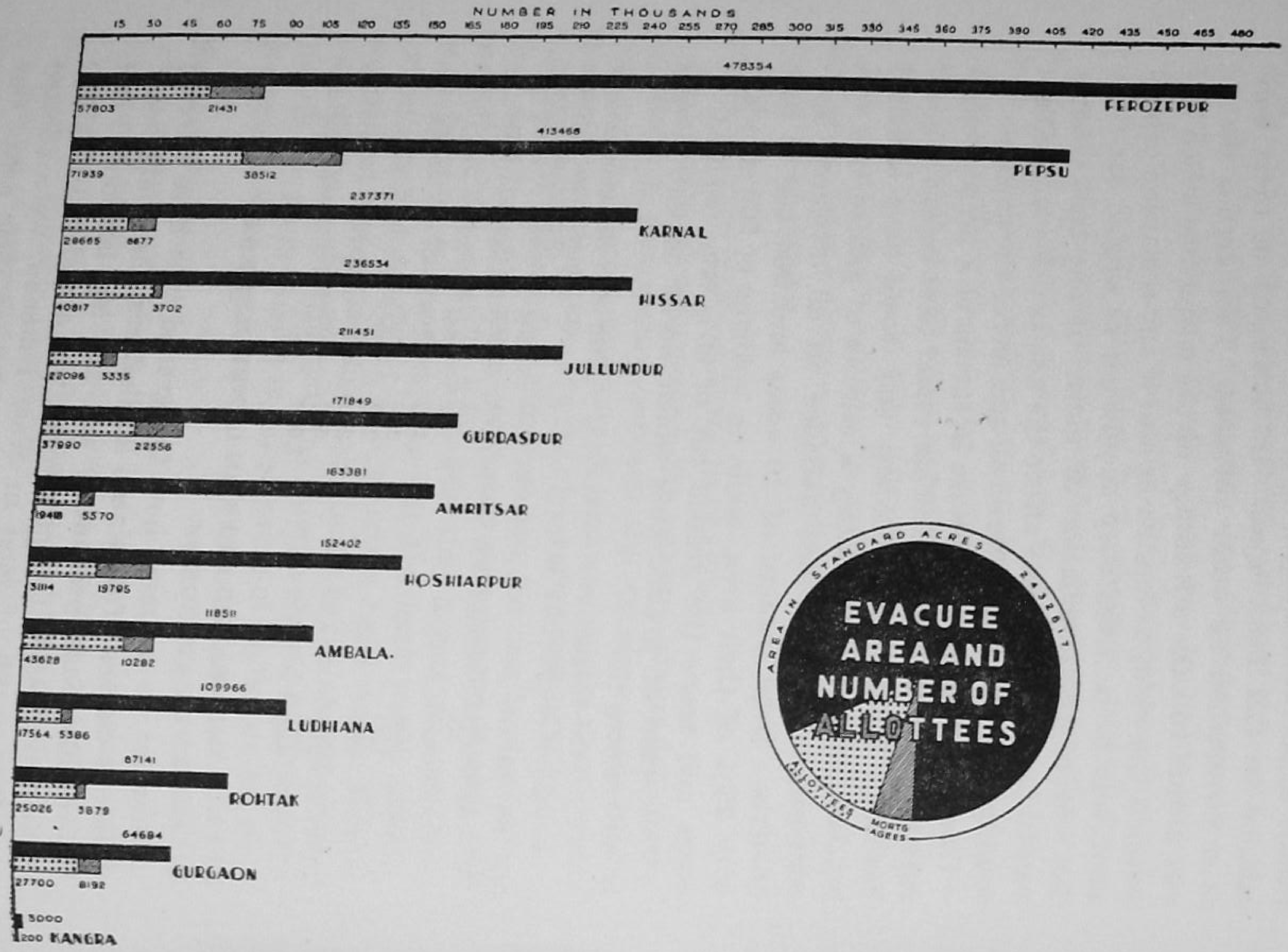
Owners of large areas were in favour of a proportionate cut in the allotable area. This would have caused a great hardship to the small holders, and would have benefited big landholders. Ultimately a scheme of graded cuts was adopted, which imposed sacrifice on all displaced landholders. Even owners of 10 acres and less had to part with 25% of their area, while on holdings of 500 standard acres and more the graded cut of 95% was imposed.

The scale of graded cuts which works on slab system is as follows :—

Grade (Standard acres)		Rate of cut	Net allotment at maximum of grade (Standard acres)
Up to 10		25%	7½
More than 10 but not more than	30	30%	21½
,, 30 ,, ,,	40	40%	27½
,, 40 ,, ,,	60	55%	36½
,, 60 ,, ,,	100	70%	48½
,, 100 ,, ,,	150	75%	61
,, 150 ,, ,,	200	80%	71
,, 200 ,, ,,	250	85%	78½
,, 250 ,, ,,	500	90%	103½
,, 500 ,, ,,	1,000	95%	128½

EFFECT OF GRADED CUTS ON LANDHOLDERS OF DIFFERENT CATEGORIES

Now let us examine how the graded cuts have affected different classes of displaced landholders, the smallholders, the middle-class peasantry, and the big landlords. Out of a total of 4,83,611 land owners, who abandoned 39,35,132 standard acres of land in West Pakistan, were allotted 24,53,187 standard acres, i.e. 62.3% of their area. Out of these, 3,88,387 land owners, owning less than 10


NUMBER IN THOUSANDS
15 30 45 60 75 90 105 120 135 150 165 180 195 210 225 240 255 270 285 300 315 330 345 360 375 390 405 420 435 450 465 480
478354
57803 21431
FEROZEPUR
413468
71939 38512
PEPSU
237371
28665 8677
KARNAL
236534
40817 3702
HISSAR
211451
22096 5335
JULLUNDUR
171849
37990 22556
GURDASPUR
163381
19418 5570
AMRITSAR
152402
3114 19795
HOSHIARPUR
118511
43628 10282
AMBALA.
109966
17564 5386
LUDHIANA
87141
25026 3879
ROHTAK
64684
27700 8192
GURGAON
3000
200 KANGRA
EVACUEE AREA AND NUMBER OF ALLOTTEES
AREA IN STANDARD ACRES 2432817
ALLOTTEES
MORTG. ACRES

standard acres each, abandoned 8,56,280 standard acres, and were allotted 6,42,210 standard acres. This class of farmers got 75% of the area which they abandoned, and lost an area of 2,14,070 standard acres. There were 79,181 land owners who owned more than 10 standard acres, but not more than 40 standard acres, who abandoned 14,57,657 standard acres, and were allotted an area of 10,90,230 standard acres, i.e. 72.3% of their total area. These farmers who were mostly middle-class self-cultivators lost an area of 4,16,727 acres. There were 12,610 land owners, who owned 40 to 100 standard acres each and who abandoned an area of 7,35,929 standard acres and were allotted an area of 4,51,889 standard acres. This class of farmers, who can be called prosperous middle-class farmers, lost an area of 2,84,040 standard acres. There were 2719 land owners, who owned land between 100 and 250 standard acres of land, and abandoned 3,98,791 standard acres, who were allotted 1,75,784 standard acres, i.e. 44.1% of their total area. This class of land owners, who were mostly prosperous landlords, lost an area of 2,23,007 standard acres. There were 714 land owners who owned between 250 to more than a thousand standard acres who abandoned an area of 5,36,474 standard acres, and were allotted only 90,569 standard acres, i.e. 16.8% of their total area. Out of these, 87 owned more than 1000 standard acres and abandoned an area of 1,67,098 standard acres, and were allotted only 19,360 standard acres. These were the biggest land owners, who were rarely self-cultivators, and owned large estates scattered over scores of villages. This class of landholders suffered a loss of 1,47,738 standard acres on account of the imposition of 95% graded cut.

From mere statistical data it is not possible to appreciate the losses which our displaced landholders have suffered in the quasi-permanent land allotment scheme. Mere figures fail to convey the colossal sacrifices which they have made for the freedom of the country. Let us take a few examples from various sectors of the displaced landholders—the large landholders who owned thousands of acres of land, the upper middle class landholders, whose holdings were in hundreds of acres; the middle class

peasant farmers, who owned 50-200 acres or so each and the small landholders, who owned less than 50 acres. As the critics of the rehabilitation policy of Government from among the displaced farmers cynically remarked, the department had scissors of many types, and scissors of Graded Cuts was only one of them. The other two scissors were those of *Banjar* Land and of "grants". The colonists in the West Punjab Canal Colonies held grants of crown land for various purposes, such as grants for tree-planting, horse breeding, and lambardari etc. They had to lose considerable portion of these lands as they had made only part payment of the government dues. This was a very great loss to a large number of persons, who had earned these grants by hard work. The scissors of *Banjar* also lopped off large areas, some time affecting even small cultivators, who had purchased waste crown land, reclaimed it, but which continued to be shown as *banjar* (uncultivated) in revenue record. Thousands of acres have been lopped off from the allotments of many landholders, merely because the land was wrongly entered as *banjar* in the revenue papers, though actually it was under cultivation in many cases.

LEVELLING OF LARGE HOLDINGS

The biggest landholder among the displaced persons from West Punjab was a woman, Shrimati Vidya Wanti, widow of Dewan Badri Nath of Emenabad in Gujranwala district. She abandoned a total area of 11,582 acres in 35 villages of Gujranwala and Sialkot districts. Out of this area two thousand acres were of uncultivated land, called *banjar Qadim* in revenue papers. This area is not counted for purposes of allotment, and no land is allotted against such areas. On this side she has been given 835½ acres in village Theh Malbora in Kaithal Tehsil of Karnal district. Out of this area, 310 acres is *banjar* (uncultivated), 98 acres is *barani* (unirrigated), and the remaining 428 acres is non-perennial *nehri*. Although the *banjar* land abandoned in Pakistan has not been given any value for purposes of allotment, and no land has been allotted against such areas, in East Punjab this class of land has been evaluated,

and allotted like cultivated land though at a lower rate in terms of the standard acre. In the matter of housing property also she has suffered a great deal. According to her Mukhtiar-i-am, she abandoned 29 houses valued at Rs. 20 lakhs in Pakistan, while on this side she has been allotted a house worth three thousand rupees only.

Lala Tarlok Chand, son of Gian Chand, an Arora zamindar of Shahadra, in Sheikhupura district, abandoned a total area of 5,328 acres in 20 villages of Sheikhupura, Lahore, and Lyallpur districts. Out of this, an area of 2,656 acres has been shown as *banjar* (uncultivated), which class of land does not qualify for allotment. Of the remaining area, roughly half was *chahi* and other half *nehri* (non-perennial). He has been allotted 313 acres in two villages, Shahabad and Ratta Khera Lukman in Thanesar Tehsil of Karnal district. He also claims to have abandoned houses and shops worth sixty five lakhs rupees in Pakistan. On this side he has been allotted a house in Shahabad, which place being a town, his allotment is not on a quasi-permanent basis, but only on a temporary basis without any permanent rights.

S. Partap Singh, son of S. Hukam Singh, an Arora Zamindar of village Arifwala in Pakpattan Tehsil of Montgomery district, and a brother of Sir Datar Singh, abandoned an area of 2,332 acres in three villages of Pakpattan Tehsil. About two thirds of this area was *nehri* (non-perennial) while the remaining was *banjar*, *chahi*, *sailab*, *Ghair mumkin* (uncultivable) etc. On this side he has been allotted a total area of 259 acres in village Kulheri near Karnal. Half of this area is *chahi*, while the remaining half is *barani* (unirrigated) or *banjar* (uncultivated).

It will be observed that there is not much difference between the area allotted to Tarlok Chand and S. Partap Singh although the former abandoned 5,328 acres while the latter abandoned only 2,332 acres. The reasons behind this is that over two thousand acres of the former were *banjar* land.

S. Sher Singh, son of S. Hukam Singh another brother of Sir Datar Singh abandoned 2,171 acres in Pakpattan Tehsil, a little more than half of which area was *nehri*

(non-perennial), and the remaining *banjar* (449), *sailab* (215), *nehri* perennial (107), *Ghair mumkin* (71) etc. He has received 242 acres here in village Kalwaheri, the same as his brother. Nearly half of his area is *chahi*, and the remaining area is *nehri* (89) and *banjar* (44).

Baba Kartar Singh Bedi of Pakpattan Tehsil, Montgomerry district abandoned an area of 2,464 acres, the major portion of which was non-perennial *nehri*. He has been allotted now 319 acres in villages Lalanwali, and Dabwali in Fazilka tehsil of Ferozepore, of which 88 acres are *nehri* perennial, 63 acres *nehri* non-perennial, and 138 acres *barani*. He abandoned houses worth Rs. 5.28 lakhs in West Pakistan, while on this side he has been allotted a house worth Rs. 100|- only.

Tara Chand, son of Mani Ram, a Khatri Zamindar of Hyderabad (Sind), abandoned 1,100 acres of perennial *nehri* land there. He has received 196 acres in three villages of Amritsar tehsil. Twenty seven acres out of the land allotted to him are *nehri* perennial, while the remaining are *chahi* and *barani* in proportions of fifty—fifty. The value of the houses and *havelis* abandoned is given by him at 1.27 lakhs, while on this side he has received a house worth Rs. 2,000|- only.

Chaudhris Madan Gopal and Shah Dass, sons of Chaudhri Balak Ram Arora Zamindars of Muzaffargarh, abandoned there about 3000 acres each. Their land in Pakistan was mostly non-perennial *nehri*. They have now been allotted land in village Sewra Tehsil Gurgaon. Chaudhri Madan Gopal has been allotted 561 acres, out of which 132 acres is *chahi*, 91 acres *barani* and the remaining 297 acres *banjar*. Chaudhri Sham Dass on the other hand has received 199 acres, of which 132 acres is *chahi*, 77 acres *barani*, and 390 acres *banjar*. Although the two brothers abandoned equal shares, the latter has received more area than the former, because he has been allotted more *banjar* area, which in terms of the standard acres is of lower value than any other class of land.

Rajeshwar Bali, son of Rai Bahadur Ram Saran Dass abandoned perennial canal-irrigated area of 2,056 acres in Multan district. He has received an allotment of 371

acres in village Lohari Raghu, Tehsil Hansi, Hissar District out of which area 163 acres is perennial *nehri*, 158 acres *barani*, and the remaining 50 acres *banjar*. He claims to have abandoned houses and *havelis* worth rupees two lakhs in West Punjab while on this side he has been allotted a house worth Rs. 5,000|- only.

The tale of woes of the large landholders does not close with Graded Cuts and cuts of area imposed on account of recorded *banjar* land. They had to face another misfortune which was not even anticipated by the Rehabilitation Department. In some districts like Ferozepur, Karnal, and Hissar, Muslim evacuee landholders were absentee landlords, while their tenants were local Hindus or Sikhs. Many of these tenants though not recorded as occupancy tenants, were of long standing. Particularly in Mamdot Estate in Ferozepur district, there were large groups of evacuee villages populated by these tenants of long-standing. When the land under their cultivation was allotted to displaced landholders, many of whom were self-cultivators, and who themselves wanted to cultivate the land, these tenants raised a howl. This problem was also met at the cost of the large landholders. Allotments of small landholders from these villages were cancelled, and allotments were made in favour of large landholders, who were eligible for allotment of more than 60 standard acres of land. Half of their land was allotted in these tenants' villages, and the remaining half in other villages, where there was no such problem. Allotment in these villages of tenants of old-standing is also another type of cut which these landholders have suffered, for these tenants were notorious for their recusancy.

LOSSES OF MIDDLE-CLASS FARMERS

Now let us take the case of middle class farmers. Hari Singh, a Sikh Jat from village Mauzoke Makam in tehsil Chunian in Lahore district, owned 125 acres of land. Now he has been allotted 85 acres equivalent to 49 standard acres in a village, Hastiwala, in Ferozepore Tehsil which is of extremely poor quality. About 10 to 12 acres of this land has been ruined by a canal breach, and the remaining

area is covered with reeds (with the exception of 5 acres which is cultivable). In Pakistan, he had about 20 she-buffaloes and 3 pairs of bullocks, and was very prosperous. Now he does not possess any bullock or a she-buffalo.

Ala Singh son of Jawand Singh owned 60 acres of canal irrigated land in villages Kot Bhai and Jodhu Dhir in Chunian and Lahore tehsils respectively. In addition, he had 30 acres of land which he had taken on mortgage from his debtors. Now he has been allotted 80 acres of *barani* land in village Saddarwala which is entirely dependant on rain, and is also liable to be washed away by floods. In Pakistan, he had 20 she-buffaloes, 4 cows, 12 bullocks, and 4 horses. Here he has only 2 bullocks.

Kundan Singh owned 67 acres in villages Judhu, Manak, and Paji in Lahore district. Now he has been allotted 40 acres in village Barkandi in Muktsar tehsil in Ferozepore district, and complains that he has been given nothing for 12 acres of his land in village Judhu which has been classed as *shamilat* under occupancy tenancy.

Now we come to small landholders comprising the majority among the colonists. Bhagwan Singh, an allottee of village Madar in Jullundur tehsil had 25 acres in Mian Chunnu and 28 acres in Chak 249 E.B. Pakpattan tehsil in Montgomery district. In addition, there were 21 acres in the name of his son in Chak No. 249 E.B. This land has been recorded as *banjar qadim* in the revenue record, and as such no allotment has been made. Bhagwan Singh has been allotted 29 standard acres equivalent to 45 acres in village Madar, which is 8 miles from his ancestral village, Droli Kalan. Out of his total allotment of 45 acres, 34 acres are well-irrigated, and the remaining area is rain fed.

Bachint Singh abandoned 18 acres in Chak No. 77 G.B. in Jaranwala tehsil, and 13 acres in Chak No. 75 G.B. in Lyallpur tehsil. Now he has been allotted 14 standard acres against the land in Chak No. 77 G.B., and as regards the land in Chak No. 75 G.B. a land rights case is pending. His allotment in village Madar in Tehsil Jullundur comes to 20 acres, out of which 15 acres are well-irrigated and the remaining rain fed.

Tara Singh abandoned 32 acres in Chak 249 G.B. in

Pakpattan tehsil in Montgomery district. Now he has been allotted 14 standard acres in village Madar, which is equivalent to 20 acres. Out of this 15 acres are well-irrigated and the rest is rain fed.

Now we take the case of the small landholders who owned uneconomic holdings. Narain Singh, a Rai Sikh had 7 kanals of land in a village 5 miles from river Sutlej in Montgomery district. In addition to his small holding, he cultivated the land of the Mahajan of that village, and had 4 bullocks and 2 she-buffaloes. He was provided a house by the Mahajan where he lived with his family. Now he has been allotted 4 kanals of land in Chak Mauj Din in Muktsar tehsil, Ferozepore district. He works as a tenant of Aroras, who are non-cultivators, while some of his kinsmen earn their living by manual labour.

So far we have been talking only of those allottees who abandoned large areas and in allotment have received only a fraction of the area abandoned by them. But it is possible to meet some allottees in every district who have, in spite of the cuts received larger areas than they had abandoned. The explanation of this paradox lies in the fact that their land in West Pakistan was of a superior class, and they have now been allotted inferior land. In terms of the Standard Acre of the Rehabilitation Department, the more productive classes of land like *nehri* (canal irrigated) and *chahi* (well irrigated) have received more value than the less productive classes like *barani* (unirrigated) and *banjar* (uncultivated). Therefore, when a good piece of land is converted by the Department into Standard acres, and then reconverted into ordinary acres of inferior class of land after applying the cut, the result is generally an increase in the area, graded cuts not withstanding. For instance, Ganda Singh son of Nihal Singh abandoned 6 acres and 6 kanals of land in village Ganjinwali in Sialkot tehsil. This land was mostly *sailab*, which is moist land of the riverain. He has now been allotted 7 acres and two kanals in village Halla, Tehsil Gurdaspur, which has increased his holding by a few kanals. A little over one acre out of this area is *chahi*, and the remaining is *barani*. Similarly, Kartar

Singh son of Arur Singh of village Mahanianwala in Sheikhupura district abandoned 9 acres and 3 kanals of land, the major portion of which was *nehri* perennial. He has been settled in Karnal district in village Pharal, and has been allotted 13 acres and 4 kanals, which area is larger than his previous holding by over four acres. Out of this new area 2 acres and 1 kanal are perennial *nehri*, and the remaining *barani* (7 acres and 5 kanals) and *banjar* (3 acres, and 6 kanals).

ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCE OF THE SCHEME OF GRADED CUTS

What are the consequences of the scheme of graded cuts? Cuts in land are naturally most unwelcome, particularly when they affect a population, a large majority of whom are self-cultivators of land. They have worked very harshly on small peasant proprietors like the Labana Sikhs of Gujrat and the Jat Sikhs of Sialkot, whose average holding does not exceed a couple of acres, as well as the Sikh Jats of Gujrat and Lahore whose average holding is about 2 to 5 acres. The middle-class type of peasant proprietors have also suffered, particularly in the quality of land which they have received. Holders of big areas have been deprived of their large holdings and, at upper levels, on account of the imposition of graded cuts at the rate of 95%, their surplus areas have been lopped off, while they have been left with sufficient lands to provide them with a decent living provided they exerted themselves. They could no longer lead a life of lazy loons living on rents collected by their Munshis from their tenants, and must actively associate themselves with the development of the land. The shock of drastic cuts in area which these big landlords have suffered has done them good. This shock-therapy has provided them incentive to become useful productive units. The fear of tenancy rights on account of rising assertiveness among the tenants has encouraged them to take part in farming operations, and quite a number of them have gone in for mechanical cultivation, and many have sunk tube-wells in *chahi* areas. It is a common sight to see a well-dressed Sardar driving a tractor in

the fields or with a trailer tied to his tractor loaded with fodder chugging to the market. The Sardars who used to spend most of their time in pressing their beards and tying neat turbans have now found a more useful occupation. Similarly the Lala Zamindar has also started taking active interest in the development and cultivation of his land and many of them have sunk tube-wells and purchased tractors. Even the Aroras of Jhang and Mianwali, who were merely money-lenders and shopkeepers, have turned a new leaf, and have taken to the plough in some of the villages of Rohtak and Gurgaon.

The scheme of graded cuts is a harsh and cruel measure. It was, however, inescapable and unavoidable under the circumstances when there was such a large gap between the area abandoned and the evacuee area available for allotment, which too was shrinking on account of restoration of land to Muslims in districts adjoining the Uttar Pradesh. With all its faults, the scheme represents the widest common measure of acceptance of a national calamity by the displaced landholders, whose representatives from all strata of landholders were associated with the work and were frequently consulted when the land resettlement policy was shaped. It represents an unparallelled sacrifice by the 3.5 lac families of refugee landholders at the altar of freedom. The rest of India, which has not suffered on account of the partition, owes a deep debt of gratitude to the displaced landholders of West Punjab, who bartered their heritage for the comparatively poor land of East Punjab, so that their country may live in peace and harmony.

AREA ABANDONED AND AREA ALLOTTED TO DISPLACED LANDHOLDERS

Grade of holdings abandoned in West Pakistan	Number of land owners	Area abandoned	Rate of cut	Area deducted		Area allotted	
				Area	Column 5 as percentage of column 3	Area	Column 7 as percentage of column 3
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
10 Standard acres or less ..	388,387	856,280	25%	214,070	25%	642,210	75%
More than 10 standard acres but not more than 30 ..	69,590	1179,727	30%	319,123	27.1%	860,604	72.9%
More than 30 st. acres but not more than 40 ..	9,591	327,930	40%	97,604	29.8%	230,326	70.2%
	79,181	1507,657		416,727	27.7%	1090,930	72.3%
More than 40 st. acres but not more than 60 ..	7,898	382,207	50%	131,869	34.5%	250,338	65.5%
More than 60 st. acres but not more than 100 ..	4,712	353,722	65%	152,171	43.1%	201,551	56.9%
	12,610	735,929		284,040	37.3%	451,889	61.7%
More than 100 st. acres but not more than 150 ..	1,712	209,294	70%	109,698	52.4%	99,596	47.6%
More than 150 st. acres but not more than 200 ..	681	116,517	75%	67,639	58.1%	48,878	41.9%
More than 200 st. acres but not more than 250 ..	326	72,980	80%	45,670	62.6%	27,310	37.4%
	2,719	398,791		223,007	55.9%	175,784	44.1%
More than 250 standard acres but not more than 500 ..	459	155,607	85%	108,627	69.9%	46,980	30.1%
More than 500 standard acres but not more than 1000 ..	168	113,769	90%	89,540	78.7%	24,229	21.3%
More than 1000 standard acres ..	87	167,098	95%	147,738	88.4%	19,360	11.6%
	714	536,474		345,905	83.2%	90,569	16.8%
TOTAL: ..	483,611	3935,132		1483,749	37.7%	2451,383	62.3%

CHAPTER 9

COULD WEST PUNJAB VILLAGES BE RE-ESTABLISHED IN EAST PUNJAB AND PEPSU?

THE allotment of land in East Punjab and Pepsu is not village-wise. This means that all the claimants from a West Punjab village have not been accommodated in one village of East Punjab or Pepsu. Conversely, a resettled village in East Punjab or Pepsu does not, as a rule, contain persons from only one village of West Punjab. There has been a great deal of shuffling and mix-up. If there were a hundred land-holders in a West Punjab village, they may now be settled in 5 or 6 villages in one district, or even in different districts. There are, of course, numerous cases where a major portion of the population of a West Punjab village is settled in one village of East Punjab or Pepsu. A vast majority of the evacuee villages have been settled by groups from West Punjab villages. It is rarely that a village has a solitary family from a Pakistan village. The scheme of allocation has kept this dispersion within certain limits. For instance, a majority of displaced persons from Lahore district are to be found in Ferozepur district. Similarly, a majority of displaced persons from Gujranwala and Sheikhupura districts are to be found in Karnal. But re-establishment of whole villages was not the pattern of resettlement policy. On the other hand, the Resettlement Officers were guided by an individual's place of temporary settlement. Quasi-permanent allotment was generally given in the village in which an individual held temporary allotment. Since a vast majority of the allottees were already settled at one place or another when the quasi-permanent allotment began, they could not be moved for consolidating them with their co-villagers.

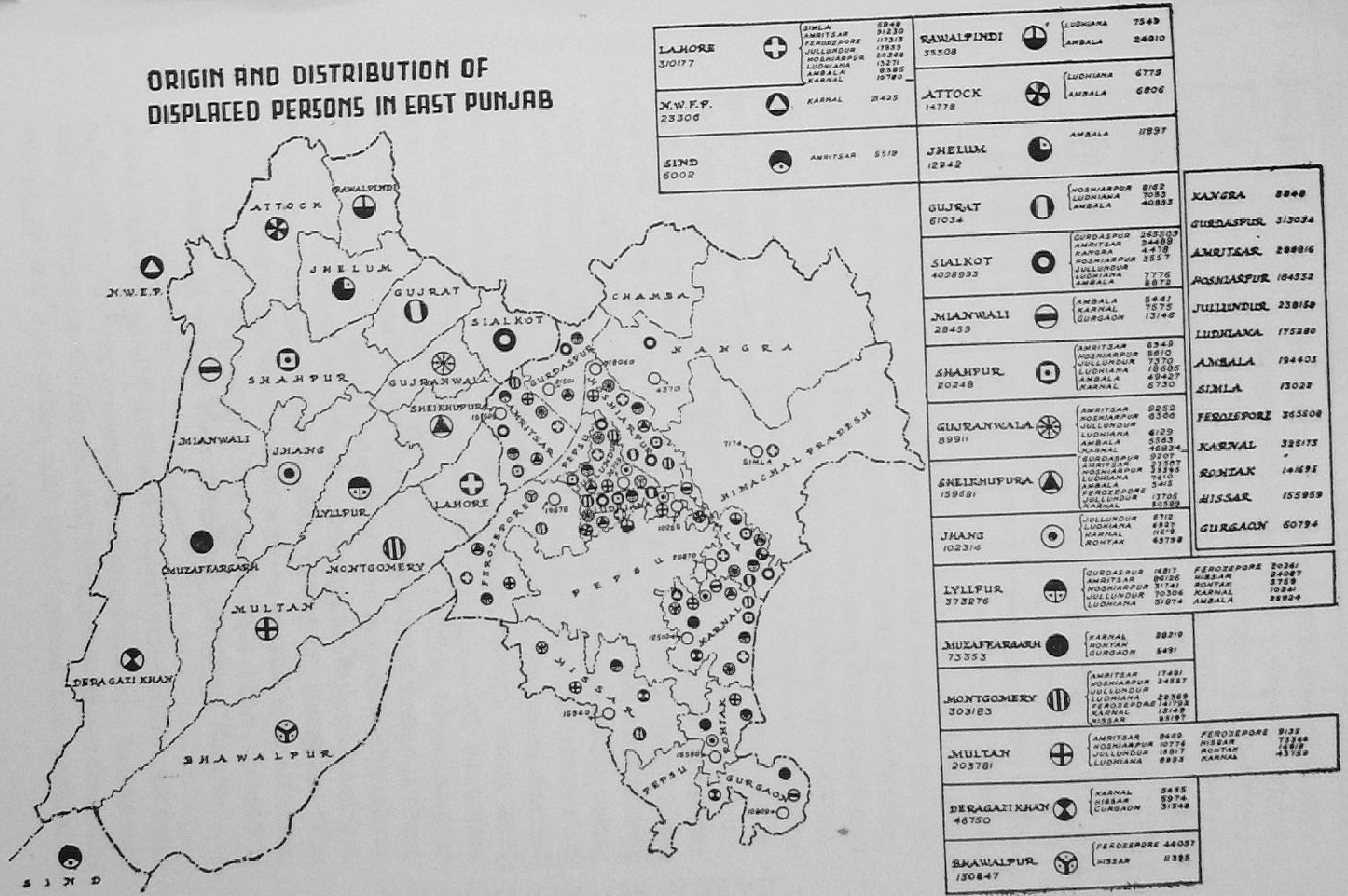
There were two main classes of displaced persons:—

(i) Colonists from East Punjab; and (ii) Non-Colonists from West Punjab. In the case of colonists there was no great feeling for settlement according to their West Punjab villages. These village communities had no ancient background, but were formed only some fifty years back. One colony village may have contained people from several old villages. There was, therefore, no great urge among them to retain those communities of the colony villages. They did not regret breaking lose from those communities and going back to their original villages, or as near them as possible.

VILLAGE-WISE SETTLEMENT, A PROBLEM OF ORIGINAL INHABITANTS OF WEST PUNJAB VILLAGES

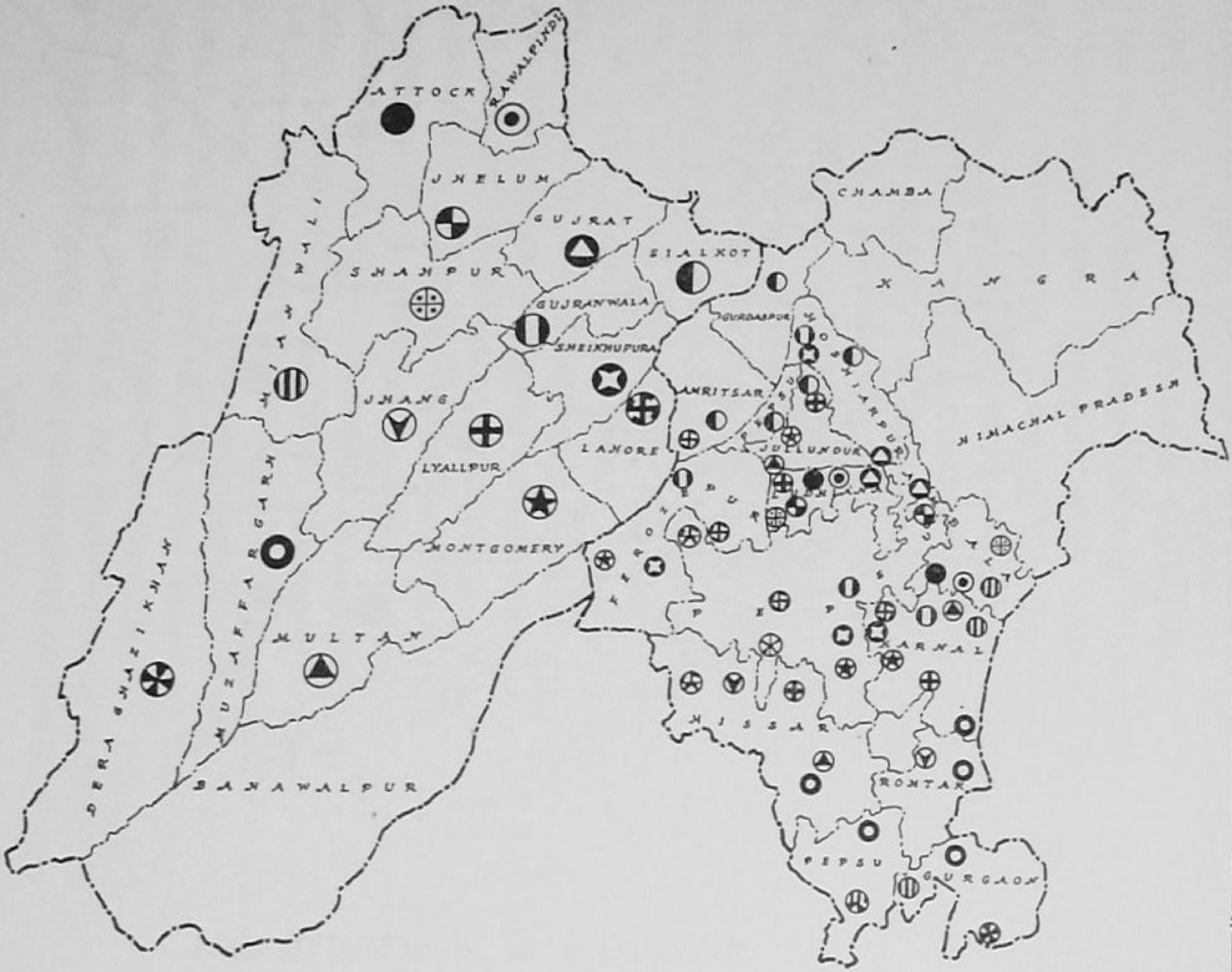
In the case of original inhabitants of West Punjab, however, there was a keen desire to settle together in evacuee villages of East Punjab. It was almost an elemental urge. They desired to recreate their old village conditions, and to revive the old social ties which bound them together in their ancestral villages. In times of distress the need for help, sympathy, and fellowship is all the greater, and their settlement together would have facilitated their psychological rehabilitation. There was an equally strong urge in the more acquisitive ones among them to grab good land. In search of good land they moved from village to village, and those who had pull among the local officials settled down in small groups in evacuee villages of their own choice. The cry for village-wise allotment of land was stronger among those refugee farmers who were not lucky enough to secure satisfactory allotments. When allotment work started in Jullundur in the month of July, 1949, and the ministers of the Sachar Cabinet paid a visit to the Secretariat there were vociferous demonstrations by the refugee zamindars and they shouted: *Sanun Pindwar Wasao*—settle us village wise." The agitators who were in favour of the village-wise scheme of allotment of land were critical of the officers who were the authors of the quasi-permanent allotment scheme of land. They said, "How can officers who have no experience of village life realise our hardships? They are ignorant of the social ties

ORIGIN AND DISTRIBUTION OF DISPLACED PERSONS IN EAST PUNJAB



ALLOCATION OF AREAS

DISTRICT-WISE



ATTOCK 12806	LUDHIANA	5000
	AMBALA	7906
RAWALPINDI 22289	LUDHIANA	1000
	AMBALA	21289
JHELUM 20725	LUDHIANA	1500
	AMBALA	19225
GUJRAT 36504	LUDHIANA	5000
	AMBALA	29504
	HOSHIARPUR	2000
SIALKOT 273311	GURDASPUR	133845
	HOSHIARPUR	[illegible]
	PEPSU	[illegible]
	JULLUNDUR	5000
	AMRITSAR	10000
SHAHPUR 42386	LUDHIANA	10000
	AMBALA	32385
GUJRANWALA 197491	FEROZEPUR	6500
	HOSHIARPUR	6000
	PEPSU	124991
	KARNAL	6000
SHEIKHUPURA 157535	FEROZEPUR	11500
	HOSHIARPUR	6000
	PEPSU	70035
	KARNAL	70000
LAHORE 341248	AMRITSAR	40233
	FEROZEPUR	274015
	PEPSU	20000
	KARNAL	7000
MIANWALI 25716	AMBALA	4000
	KARNAL	1000
	GURGAON	20716
JHANG 58838	HISSAR	10323
	ROHTAK	48515
LYALLPUR 57388	JULLUNDUR	32388
	LUDHIANA	5000
	KARNAL	15000
	HISSAR	5000
MONTGOMERY 180939	FEROZEPUR	165939
	JULLUNDUR	4000
	PEPSU	3000
	KARNAL	8000
MUZAFFARGARH 62333	HISSAR	10000
	PEPSU	4000
	GURGAON	3000
	ROHTAK	30333
	KARNAL	15000
DERAGHAZIKHAN 47009	GURGAON	47009
MULTAN 207159	JULLUNDUR	4000
	KARNAL	58000
	HISSAR	145159

KANGRA	3000
GURDASPUR	37004
AMRITSAR	113148
HOSHIARPUR	78204
JULLUNDUR	164410
LUDHIANA	81966
AMBALA	30000
FEROZEPUR	104415
KARNAL	1852
ROHTAK	8293
HISSAR	15946
GURGAON	2559
PEPSU	50287

and of the fabric of village traditions which is based on common ancestry". A village wit remarked: "How can these I.C.S. officers understand our difficulties? Most of them are born in maternity centres, live all their lives in hotels, and ultimately die in hospitals". They apprehended that the honour of their women-folk will not be safe in villages with mixed populations, who had no blood ties and consequently no respect for grown-up daughters and daughters-in-law of others. An instance was given of a Kamboh family who had settled in a village with preponderant majority of Jat Sikhs from Lahore. Two sons of a venerable Kamboh Sikh had joined the army, leaving their wives behind with their old father in the village. One fine morning the old man found that both the daughters-in-law, while returning early in the morning from the fields, were kidnapped and kept under lock and key in the same village by the Lahoris. Nobody came to his help because he was all alone, and even when the case was reported to the police, he could get no witnesses. Another instance was cited of an old man from Amritsar who was allotted land in a village in Jullundur district. He was an invalid, ailing for a long time, and he suddenly expired. His widow could not collect even four people to carry his dead body to the cremation ground. I also remember another instance in which a colonist of Jullundur, a Jat Sikh, who had settled in his own district among Jat Sikh colonists of Amritsar district, came wailing and weeping with a petition. He said, "I have two grown-up daughters, and unless you move me to some other village, I am sure the Amritsaris will abduct them". There was no dearth of such examples where husbands and wives, fathers and sons, and real brothers were allotted land in different villages, sometimes in different districts. The supporters of the village-wise scheme stated that all these evils of scattering of families could have been avoided if the scheme of village-wise allotment had been adopted.

ADVANTAGES CLAIMED FOR VILLAGE-WISE SETTLEMENT

Several other arguments were also advanced. It was said that village-wise settlement will have advantages from the aspect of law and order, and investigation and control of

crime. Ancient village communities are a great check on crime, and a great help in its investigation, because every one knows everybody else. Unless these communities were again brought together through a village-wise settlement, Government would not be able to cope effectively with the law and order situation in the state. If people from different Pakistan villages were settled in one village here, they would be strangers to one another, and would quarrel among themselves, commit thefts in homes and fields, and would not be easily caught because their antecedents were not known to their neighbours. Some others urged advantages from the point of view of inheritance. If an allottee died without a male issue his land under the customary law had to be shared among the reversioners. Now if these reversioners were scattered in a number of villages that land would practically be lost to them because they would not be able to cultivate the small bits that would fall to their shares in that village when they were themselves living in different far off villages. It was also pointed out that refugees of a non-agricultural character will not be able to take roots in villages unless they were settled village-wise in fairly strong groups. They had failed to find their feet during the temporary allotments, because they could not combine into groups. It was also felt that the actual resettlement operations would be much easier if resettlement was to be village-wise because all the resettlement records had been prepared village-wise. Along with this there was a possibility of greater justice between individuals belonging to the same village, for instance, in the distribution of different classes of land.

FREEZING THE PATTERN OF TEMPORARY SETTLEMENT

In the face of all this fermentation of opinions when land resettlement policy was finalised in the early months of 1949, Government found it impossible to accept the village-wise system of resettlement. It was decided that the basic temporary allotment considering the quality of the area abandoned by the allottee should be retained. Where the landholders did not hold temporary allotment, they were, of course, settled village-wise as far as

possible. This meant saying good-bye to old village communities because these villages could be re-established only if all the landholders from one Pakistan village were pulled out from their places of temporary allotment and settled at one place. It may be asked why did the Government give the sitting allottees preferential right to settle permanently at places where they were holding land? Why did it not treat the entire evacuee area as a clean slate, and then settle the displaced landholders according to the West Punjab villages? A number of arguments weighed with Government when it decided in favour of the retention of the then existing settlement in villages. The chief of these was that Government did not wish to undo the resettlement that had already taken place during the previous two years, and set afoot once more large scale movements resulting in the demolition of houses and wells and other evacuee property. Some 40% of houses and wells which were badly needed for rehabilitation had already been damaged during 1947 and 1948. It was feared that unless a measure of confidence could be given to the people that they would remain in the villages in which they were resettled, it would provide temptation to many persons to remove roofs, doors, windows etc. either from motives of recklessness or with a view to providing themselves with these amenities in the villages to which they may have to move subsequently.

Another fact which Government took into consideration was that when in September, 1947, refugees were asked to move in groups of their own choice, by and large, they tended to form small groups of relations and friends. A study of lists of allottees settled in individual villages revealed that except in the case of isolated persons, the picture of settlement in each village showed that groups of persons connected with one another but belonging to a number of villages ordinarily of the same area were living together. Thus, except for isolated cases, the groups then living in villages were not in any sense non-homogenous groups, members of which had no binding connection with one another. It was said that a fair amount of homogeneity already existed in the spread of the displaced rural

population, and that in the permanent settlement which followed in the wake of the events of 1947 and 1948 we should be content with a broad measure of homogeneity, and should not attempt to seek restoration in a formal sense. Gradually people living together will become more closely knit groups. Another reason was that evacuee land in East Punjab was distributed among a large number of villages many of which had relatively small areas owned by the Muslims. Thus even at best it would be necessary to scatter village communities among a number of villages. Whatever the policy, the scattering of large number of village communities was inevitable. And if village communities had to be scattered, was it not better to follow the distribution effected by the people, largely in the light of their own choice, than to impose a fresh arbitrary distribution.

CONSOLIDATION OF CLOSE RELATIONS

When criticism from the supporters of the village-wise resettlement scheme mounted, and became positively uncomfortable, it was decided to modify the land allotment scheme, so that at least scandalous instances of separation of close relations, such as husbands and wives, real brothers, fathers and sons etc. were set right. This decision removed the sting from the scheme of land allotment to a great extent. In spite of this very great concession, the supporters of the village-wise scheme were not satisfied. They said that even if the entire village *biradri* is allotted land in a village in the *bet*, they would rather sink together rather than swim separately. While there is no doubt that if the village-wise scheme had been adopted, the Rehabilitation Officers would have been saved a great deal of bother they had to undergo in entertaining applications in review for consolidating close relations etc. the scheme of village-wise allotment may not have given the same amount of satisfaction to a considerable number, particularly if they happened to be allotted land together in a village with poor soil. Only in such cases their protests and complaints would have been more vehement. In many cases it was seen that it was the pull of good land, than *biradri*, which

attracted people. It was often seen that brothers who had been allotted land in different villages usually desired to get consolidation in a village with good land, and when the choice of consolidation was given in an inferior village, they preferred to stay where they were.

OLD ENMITIES AND VENDETTAS

While the desire of the majority of refugee farmers was to get together, there were some who wanted to get away from their relations and co-villagers. These were persons who had long-standing enmities and vendettas against their co-villagers that had, in some cases, resulted in murders. Such persons sometimes even surrendered good land, and desired allotment in villages far away from their enemies. To the garden colonies which were established in favourably situated villages were attracted a large number of educated colonists of East Punjab. In securing these allotments often far away from their ancestral villages they were actuated by the desire to escape the entanglements of petty village politics, factions and strife, and they took refuge in these colonies where they thought they could live in peace, safe from the harassment of their kinsmen. Besides, their children could also get better facilities for education.

WIDOWS

Widows were a class by themselves. In a majority of cases their desire was to get away from the families of their fathers-in-law. These were widows who were either persecuted by their husband's brothers or their mothers-in-law. Some of the merry widows who had contracted friendships were also anxious to get their lands allotted with their paramours. There was another class of widows with young children whose lives were threatened by their collaterals, and they desired to get their lands allotted along with their parents or brothers.

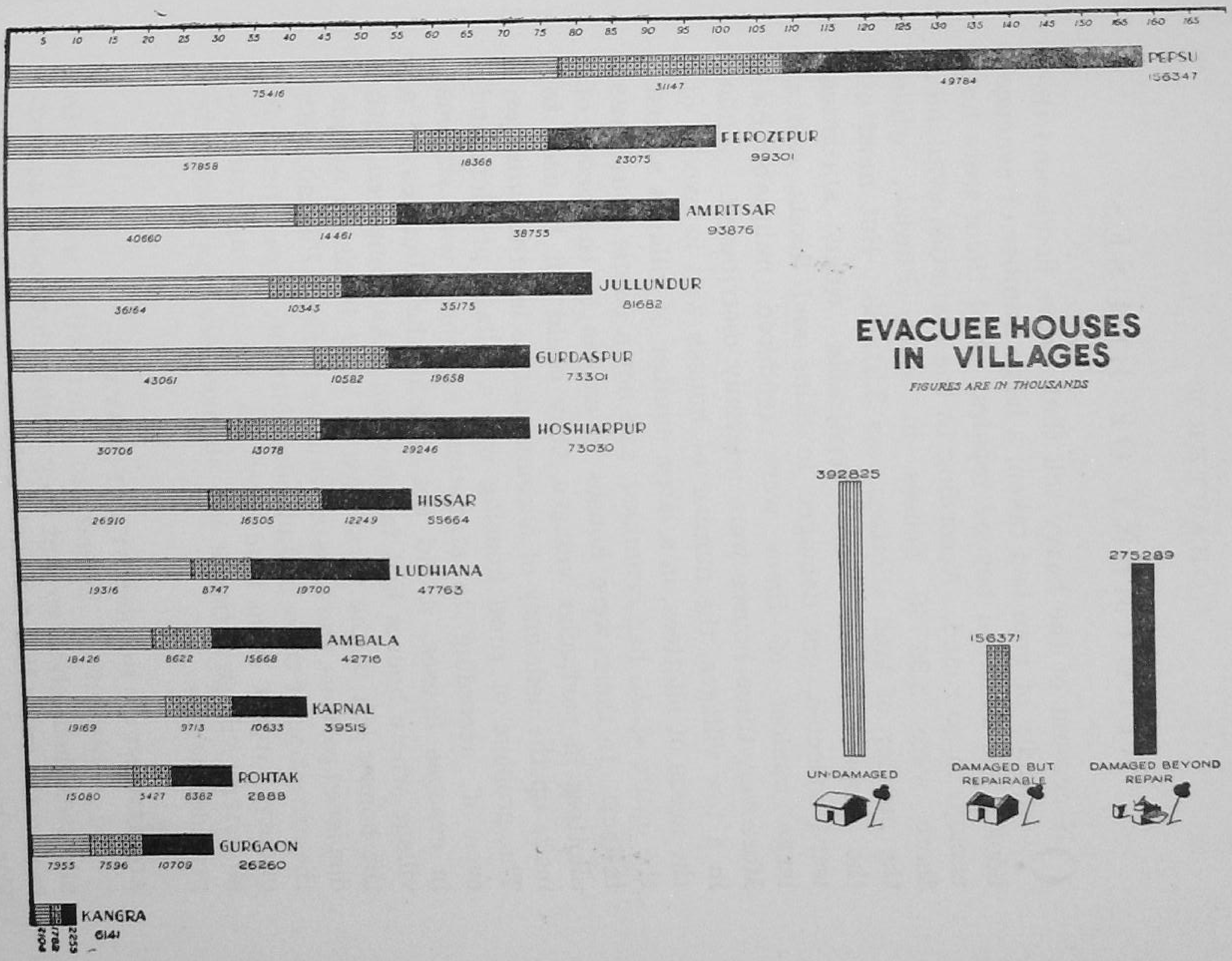
BAD CHARACTERS

Sometimes applications were received from groups of villagers requesting that allotment of a particular bad cha-

racter be cancelled, as he had become a nuisance to the village community. In the scheme of allotment of land the aspect of law and order was not considered. It would have been advisable if the antecedents of bad characters who had migrated to this side had been verified, and all the bad characters settled together in groups of selected villages where they could be kept under the surveillance of the police and given opportunities to reform themselves.

BREAK UP OF VILLAGE COMMUNITIES A CULTURAL LOSS

Many improvements could have been possible if more time and thought had been given to the problems of resettlement. However, the time factor was also very important: and it was a race against time. Ultimately, it was decided to freeze the pattern which had arisen as a result of temporary allotments of land, and to cause the least movement of land allottees who had already developed some attachment with their new surroundings. Thus, the right of temporary allotment was given priority over everything else, provided a person was holding his temporary allotment of land in a village according to his grade and allocation. This became the guiding principle in the land allotment scheme. The break-up of ancient village communities is a very serious social and cultural loss to rural Punjab. In a village a person does not merely own land or a house. He has his roots going deep into it. It will now take a few decades before the resettlers begin to lead as full a social and cultural life again as they did in the ancient village communities of West Punjab.


EVACUEE HOUSES
IN VILLAGES
FIGURES ARE IN THOUSANDS
5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100 105 110 115 120 125 130 135 140 145 150 155 160 165
PEPSU
156347
75416
31147
49784
FEROZEPUR
99301
57858
18368
23075
AMRITSAR
93876
40660
14461
38755
JULLUNDUR
81682
36164
10343
35175
GURDASPUR
73301
43061
10582
19658
HOSHIARPUR
73030
30706
13078
29246
HISSAR
55664
26910
16505
12249
LUDHIANA
47763
19316
8747
19700
AMBALA
42716
18426
8622
15668
KARNAL
39515
19169
9713
10633
ROHTAK
2888
15080
5427
8382
GURGAON
26260
7955
7596
10709
KANGRA
6141
2104
1782
2255
392825
156371
275289
UN-DAMAGED
DAMAGED BUT REPAIRABLE
DAMAGED BEYOND REPAIR

CHAPTER 10

ALLOTMENT OF HOUSES

On account of the heavy toll that rains, floods and the rapacity of man had taken, a large number of evacuee houses got damaged beyond repairs. And there were not enough to go round. According to the statistics available, there were 3,36,749 houses in East Punjab, while the number of land allottees was 3,51,968. But most of the houses which were repairable when statistics were collected, got damaged in rains and floods, and a large number of them were rendered uninhabitable. Moreover, these houses were unevenly distributed. While in a few villages, the number of houses was in excess of the needs of allottees, in a large number of villages almost the entire *abadis* had crumbled, and not a single house was in-tact. If there were houses in excess of the needs of allottees in particular villages, they could not be used to make up the deficiency of accommodation in other villages. The problem of rural housing was a village problem and even if, according to statistics, a tahsil was surplus in evacuee houses, it did not benefit the allottees of a village where houses had fallen down. As compared with the houses left in the rural area in West Pakistan by our displaced persons, the houses available in East Punjab, with the exception of those in Jullundur District, were inferior in quality. Apart from land allottees, tenants, agricultural labourers, village artisans and shopkeepers had also to be provided houses.

ALLOTMENT OF HOUSES BY PANCHAYATS

The allotment of houses, to start with, was left to allottees themselves, so that they might allot houses according to the rules laid for their guidance by mutual consent. For this purpose the revenue officers were to organise

Panchayats of allottees in each village, called Village Housing Panchayats, explain to them the rules for allotting houses, which were not rigid but broad and general, and then leave the actual allotment to these Panchayats. After these Panchayats had done the allotment, the revenue officer was to visit the village again, and pass allotment orders after satisfying himself that everybody was satisfied. In pursuance of this policy a large number of Panchayats were formed, but they did not make much progress with the work of allotment. In about two months' time they could finish allotment in barely 1% villages. It was an experiment in democracy which in practice did not work, and ultimately the work was entrusted to revenue officers who were asked to arrange a village-wise programme, and to complete the work in three months. For their guidance rules, which had the merit of simplicity, were formulated, and the entire operation was completed with speed and efficiency.

RULES FOR ALLOTMENT

Unlike land allotment rules, the rules for allotment of houses were simple. All the houses abandoned by evacuee landholders in a village were available for allotment to land allottees of that village, and houses left by landless evacuee shopkeepers, artisans etc. were to be allotted to displaced landless persons. Houses of value of Rs. 20,000 or more were, however, declared urban property under the Inter-Dominion Agreement between the Governments of India and Pakistan, and were, therefore, excluded from quasi-permanent allotment. Each allottee could choose a house for himself in his turn according to a list of precedence drawn for that village. This list determined the turn of an allottee, and in the last analysis the quality of the house that he got was drawn up after taking into consideration two factors: (1) the area allotted to him and, (2) the value of the houses abandoned by him in Pakistan. Marks were given to each allottee for both these factors. He got one mark for each standard acre of land allotted to him. Similarly he got one mark for each one thousand rupees of the value of his house abandoned in

Pakistan. For example, if an allottee had received fifteen standard acres of land and had abandoned a house worth seven thousand rupees, he got fifteen plus seven, i.e. 22 marks. The value of the Pakistan house was determined by means of an affidavit filed to that effect by each allottee. When marks had been counted up, the list of precedence was prepared.

In addition to these main rules for the determination of the order of priority, there were a number of other miscellaneous rules defining the rights of different classes in the allotment of houses. Serving soldiers who did not own land in West Pakistan, but owned houses in rural areas, were allotted houses or sites if surplus accommodation was available after meeting the demands of allottees, tenants, and *Kamins* in evacuee villages within the area of their allocation. The bigger allottees were entitled to additional accommodation for their tenants and agricultural labourers if surplus accommodation was available after meeting the demands of other allottees. In totally demolished evacuee villages they were entitled to allotment of one additional plot for each ten standard acres of land upto a maximum of 4 plots. An allottee of land in more than one village was ordinarily entitled to a house in the village where the major portion of his land had been allotted to him. Marks were, however, given to him for his entire holding scattered in various villages. In exceptional cases such allottees were allowed to exercise choice for the allotment of houses in a village where they had already settled, and where smaller portion of their land had been allotted to them. Substantial houses situated outside the limits of village "abadis" were put in the common pool. An allottee in whose land such a house was situated had a prior claim for allotment of that house. From the point of view of convenience of cultivation, this concession was greatly appreciated. If he chose that house he was not entitled to another house in the village. Colonists, who had been allotted land on quasi-permanent basis in their ancestral villages at a reasonable distance from their native villages, were not entitled to evacuee houses in preference to displaced landholders whose ancestral homes were in West

Pakistan. This concession was given to displaced landholders from West Pakistan, as they were absolutely down and out, and had no shelter for their families in a land where they were practically strangers. This rule did not apply to those colonists who had no residential house in their ancestral village. Fairly commodious houses, capable of being partitioned, were divided to accommodate two or more families. No reservation of houses was made for religious or other common purposes unless the allottees so desired. There were some estates which did not have any residential sites attached to them. Persons receiving allotment in these estates were entitled to allotment of houses in the villages where Muslim evacuee landholders whose land had been allotted to them, used to reside.

HOUSE ALLOTMENT WORK IN A TYPICAL VILLAGE

Let us now see how house allotment work was actually done in a village. The *halqa* revenue officer, who is a Naib Tahsildar, has had it publicised through the Patwari that the house allotment work in that village will be done on such and such a date. This is necessary as everybody wants to be present, or to be properly represented, to make his choice when his turn comes. The venue of the meeting is a public place or the shade of a hospitable "Peepal" tree where the villagers usually meet the touring officers, and there all the allottees are assembled before the arrival of the Naib Tahsildar. The Patwari is ready with his papers. One register contains a list of the evacuee houses in the village, the number of rooms and other accommodation in each house, with their exact dimensions, the general condition and the approximate value of the house. Another register contains a list of the allottees along with the marks allotted to them under each count. He has also a map of the village showing the location of each house. For purposes of reference he has beside him the original affidavits of the allottees about the value of their Pakistan house, and other papers showing each person's holding in the village. The officer now arrives and the work begins. The list giving the order of precedence is read out, so that everybody knows where he stands in

relation to others and can get mistakes, if any, corrected. The villagers are next asked if they want to reserve any houses for common purposes. These common purposes may be school for boys or for girls, a residence for the schoolmaster or schoolmistress, a place where the doctor from the neighbouring village may see the patients on his weekly round, a house for receiving marriage parties coming to the village, or a place for worship. If there is any house of a value of 20,000 rupees or more in the village, it is singled out and declared outside the scope of quasi-permanent allotment. These preliminaries having been completed, allottee number one on the list is called upon to select the house of his choice. The allottee named stands up, and there is a pause. It is a great moment for him. The house that he selects will be his future home. But he does not take long. His mind is already made up because he knew weeks back that he was number one on the list, and his selection was not hampered by the choice of other persons. He names his house. He has identified it by its number, but there were several other ways also of identifying it, for instance by its location or by the name of the temporary allottee or the name of its Muslim owner. Some in the audience nod their heads knowingly, meaning that they knew that he would select that house or that had they been number one on the list, they would also have selected the same. After making sure that the allottee number one means what he says, the officer enters his name on the register of houses opposite the house he has selected and initials it. Number two is now called, and he selects another house. Somebody raises an objection that the house that he has selected was not one house but two houses belonging to two brothers. To decide this point the officer walks upto the house, inspects it, and also questions old inhabitants. It transpires that the house belonged to the father, but one of the two sons was living separately in a portion of the house. So, after all, it was only one house. Allottee no. 2 gets it and the allotment proceeds. There is another uproar. An allottee has a decent evacuee house in one of the fields allotted to him, and he wants to select one in the village also. This is against the rules,

since he can take either the one or the other but not both. He is offered a choice between the two houses and he takes the former. The next man is called up, and allotment goes on. There are some good houses belonging to evacuee non-landholders. One of the allottees wants to select one of those. He is not allowed, because those can be allotted to village artisans and shopkeepers only.

By the end of the day, all the allottees in the village have got a house each, some good ones others not so good. The atmosphere in the village is charged with excitement. Great decisions have been taken, and everybody is affected. May-be some have made a bad choice, or there were not enough good houses to go round. The allotting officer, however, comes in for very little blame. He has had no occasion to exercise his discretion, and has antagonised none. The system has worked mechanically, and he has been only registering the decisions of the allottees. But he has not been working at dry files and papers behind a barbed wire fence as he did when he was allotting evacuee land at Jullundur. He has attended a full-blooded meeting of the allottees, has formed an idea of their preferences in the matter of houses, and acquired a knowledge of their problems.

Do the houses allotted to these persons today bear any relation to the houses abandoned by them in Pakistan? The answer is: "Not much". Two factors have determined the right to make a selection from among the available evacuee houses in the village. These were the area allotted, and the value of the abandoned house. The bigger allottees have received better houses here than the smaller ones, but a smaller holder through his thrift and industry or income from other sources may have built himself a better house than the bigger one. Originally an experiment was tried when greater consideration was shown to the value of houses as compared with the value of land. For each unit of Rs. 1,000|- value, 2 marks were given, and for each standard acre one mark. The result of this was that most of the displaced persons exaggerated the value of their houses, and ultimately by almost universal exaggeration in their affidavits, the value factor of houses in Pakistan was

practically eliminated. As a result of this it was decided to give only one mark for Rs. 1,000 value of a house. Again the quality of the houses standing in the village was the governing factor. If there was a large number of good houses, bigger as well as smaller allottees got a decent house. This, of course, was a rare occurrence, as with the exception of Jullundur district, where Muslim evacuees left houses of quality, in other districts good houses were very few indeed. If there were no good houses in the village both the bigger and the smaller allottees went the same way.

This process has been repeated in 11810 evacuee villages situated in the length and breadth of the State. The officers have visited each one of these villages, and recorded the choice of the allottees. Allotment of evacuee houses was a job that caused minimum trouble and anxiety to the Rehabilitation Department. The house allotment scheme had the merit of the simplicity, and it introduced a mechanical system of allotment in which selection was made by the allottees themselves and the presiding officers were saved from accusations of favouritism and corruption. The entire operation was successfully completed in three months with very few complaints indeed.

CHAPTER 11

ALLOTMENT OF EVACUEE GARDENS

THERE was a number of evacuee fruit-bearing gardens which had to be allotted to deserving displaced persons. These were 2367 in all. But most of these were small and old, and not very attractive as gardens. Consequently, they were divided into two categories taking into consideration their area, means of irrigation etc. Those gardens which were of some importance, and could be called worthwhile gardens, were listed separately and given the name of provincial gardens. These were kept for allotment to those displaced landholders only who had abandoned gardens in West Punjab. The small gardens outside this list were allotted along with ordinary evacuee land to those to whose shares they fell in the routine allotment of fields. They were, however, counted as having, in terms of standard acres, twice the value of ordinary land. For instance, if an allottee got a garden of one acre in area, it was counted equal to two acres of ordinary land. This allotment of small gardens was done without regard to the fact whether the allottees had abandoned gardens in West Punjab or not. They could fall to any body's share according to the rules for the distribution of field numbers. There were some 1756 such gardens with an area of 3069 acres.

PROVINCIAL EVACUEE GARDENS

It is to the allotment of larger, or provincial gardens, as they were called, that this chapter really relates. The following types of gardens were included in the list of provincial gardens :—

(1) Irrigated gardens of two acres or more in area.
(2) Unirrigated gardens of four acres or more.
(3) Gardens with pucca buildings or structures of any

value in them.

(4) Garden with tubewells.

Most of the irrigated gardens of commercial value were in the districts of Amritsar, Karnal, and Gurdaspur; unirrigated gardens were in other districts. Gardens situated within the limits of Municipal Committees, Notified Area Committees etc., were excluded from allotment as they were liable to sale or exchange like other urban immovable property.

Some difficulty was faced in determining the proper claimants. In the allotment of land we had generally depended (i.e. in sorting out those persons who had actually abandoned gardens in West Punjab) on the revenue records received from West Punjab. Government was inclined to stick to this authority, but very few gardens found any mention in the jamabandis. The classification of soils in the jamabandi is based on (a) whether land which is cultivated has irrigation, (b) whether land which is cultivated has no irrigation and (c) whether land is not cultivated. In the *khasra girdawari* mention is invariably made of fruit trees which a particular field may bear, but incorporation of these entries in the jamabandis is not required by the rules. There can, therefore, be omissions in jamabandis in the ordinary course which cannot be accepted as conclusive evidence against the claims of displaced garden owners. Thus against 866 gardens claimed and verified, only 137 found mention in the jamabandis, the total area involved being 11080 acres and 966 acres respectively. It was therefore decided to secure from Pakistan Government a list of the gardens abandoned in West Pakistan.

EVALUATION OF GARDENS ABANDONED IN WEST PAKISTAN

Applications were also invited from displaced garden owners for the allotment of gardens on the provincial list. They were required to give the area of their gardens, distance from a town, maturity, type of fruit trees grown in it, and annual income from the garden. All the abandoned gardens as well as evacuee gardens in East Punjab and Pepsu were then evaluated by awarding them marks

for various features, which give value to a garden. Area under each garden was converted into standard acres according to the valuation given to that area in the quasi-permanent allotment of land. One mark was given for each standard acre. Only area under matured fruit trees was counted for valuation. Area brought under fruit trees in 1942 or before was considered as matured. The value of a garden also depends upon the type of fruit trees grown. Two additional marks per standard acres were, therefore, given for gardens of citrus, pears, bananas or mangoes, and one additional mark was given in the case of gardens of guavas or *beris.* Marketing and transport facilities also add to the value of commercial gardens. One fourth mark per standard acre was, therefore, given if the garden was (i) on a metalled road, or (ii) within half a mile of a railway station or (iii) within 2 miles of a town with a population of 30,000 to 50,000 or (iv) within 4 miles of a town with a population of 50,000 or more. Each garden was entitled to be given additional value for only one of the various factors mentioned above. For instance, if there was a garden on a metalled road and also within half a mile of a railway station, only one factor, i.e. either its garden was (i) on a metalled road, or (ii) within half a mile from the railway station, was taken into consideration.

The value of buildings situated in gardens was not reckoned so far as gardens in West Pakistan were concerned. In the case of pucca buildings in gardens in East Punjab and Pepsu every one thousand rupees of the value of the building was counted equal to one standard acre of land. This was important for counting up the area of agricultural land that an allottee of a garden had to surrender in exchange for the allotment of a garden. In the allotment of agricultural land the entire holding of a displaced person, including his area under garden, had been taken account of. The idea was that when a garden was allotted to him in East Punjab or Pepsu he should surrender part of his allotment equal to the area of the garden. For example, if somebody was allotted a garden measuring 10 standard acres he had to surrender 10 standard acres from his agricultural land. Now if that garden of 10 standard acres had in it a

pucca building worth 5 thousand rupees, the allottee had to surrender 15 standard acres of his allotted agricultural land.

After this valuation was completed, two lists were published for the general information of the claimants. One list contained gardens abandoned in West Pakistan, the names of their owners, and the marks awarded to each garden under the rules given above. The other list contained the gardens available for allotment in East Punjab and Pepsu, the names of their owners, location, and marks given to those gardens. After these lists were published, the public were notified of this fact through the press, and were given a fortnight to put in their objections regarding valuation etc. The East Punjab list was meant to help the claimants in selecting the gardens best suited to them.

The system of allotment was that the claimant scoring the maximum marks in valuation was given first choice from amongst all the evacuee gardens; the second man the next choice, and so on down the scale. Claimants had to make their choice at Jullundur Secretariat either personally or through a duly authorised agent. To facilitate choice a list giving all available information about each evacuee garden had been printed and was made available for sale.

In this allotment of evacuee gardens there were no restrictions of the Allocation Scheme. A person could take any of the gardens in any district which were available when his turn to choose came. It was thus open to him to select the best garden available or the one not so good but situated near his allotted land.

It was necessary to ignore the allocation scheme because of the unequal distribution of gardens in different districts. Most of the worthwhile evacuee gardens were in Amritsar, Karnal, Hoshiarpur, Ambala, and Gurdaspur districts while there were few gardens of any importance in Jullundur, Ludhiana, Rohtak, Hissar and Gurgaon districts. Out of these, orchards of commercial importance were situated in the suburban villages of Amritsar district only. It was obvious that if the allocation scheme had been followed it would have resulted in great injustice to many persons who

had left gardens of superior class in West Pakistan but had been allotted to districts in which acreage under gardens was comparatively small.

Allotment was made at the rate of one garden per claimant. As such, if a person had abandoned more than one garden all his claims were consolidated and considered as a unit.

After a sitting of three days, it was found that several claimants did not want to take a garden, and that the Department was left with a large number of unwanted gardens. It was, therefore, decided to invite fresh claims from persons who had abandoned gardens below five acres in area. More claims were invited in August, 1950, and evaluated. Another sitting of four days i.e. from the 7th to 10th September was arranged for allotment. In all, 750 gardens with an area of 4225 standard acres were allotted.

Where a scheme for distribution of property, whether land, garden, or house, is formulated, it is necessary to restrict the discretion of the officer who presides over its distribution to the barest minimum. This will save him from temptation if he is weak-minded, and will save him from unwarranted allegations of corruption which are always made by disappointed parties if he is honest. After the basic principles are settled, and marks allotted, objections received and decided, the scheme should become a self-allotting one and mechanical in nature. The garden allotment scheme had these merits. By removing the fetters of allocation, widest possible choice was given to the garden claimants to choose a garden according to their own choice. If a mistake was made in selection, the selector realised that it was his own mistake and not that of the official. It was the convenience of the selector which provided the basis of selection. Thus, gardens which were otherwise insignificant were selected by garden owners who possessed much more precious gardens of large areas in West Punjab, merely because they happened to be situated close to the place where they had settled. This method of distribution of property was also adopted in the allotment of houses in rural area, and ensured speed as well as impartiality in allotment.

CHAPTER 12

GARDEN COLONIES

A BRIGHT feature of land resettlement operation, is the scheme of Garden Colonies. Twenty-seven large blocks of evacuee land, which had been excluded from general allotment, have been allotted to persons interested in horticulture for growing gardens. As a result of this, the East Punjab will add some 20,000 acres to its area under gardens. These colonies have been established in 11 out of 13 districts of the State on fertile blocks of evacuee land on the road-side. A few of the colonies are situated close to the towns of Jullundur, Muktsar, Patti and Hansi. Others are also quite favourably situated on pucca or kacha roads. Their areas vary from 195 acres of Allowal Dalamwal in Hoshiarpur district to 2,066 acres of Jundla in Karnal. Each allottee has been given either a unit of 20 acres, or half a unit of 10 acres. The total number of allottees in all the 27 garden colonies is 1,122.

Allotments in the Garden Colonies have been made in lieu of the area allottable under the quasi-permanent allotment scheme, and is not an additional allotment of land. Those who have received allotments in Garden Colonies have had this area deducted from the total area due to them. If, after deducting the area for a unit or half unit in a garden colony, the remaining area was less than five standard acres, the allottee received this area also within the garden colony. If, however, the balance exceeded five standard acres it was given to him elsewhere. It was also decided to harness the enthusiasm and talent for gardening in the non-displaced people of East Punjab by allotting them similar areas in the garden colonies. The condition for their admission into these colonies was that an allottee had to surrender an equivalent area from his holding which was added to the general evacuee pool.

Citrus fruits are produced by new settlers.

Before any area from an East Punjab resident was, however, accepted it was inspected by an officer of the Revenue Department as well as by the District Agricultural Officer, in order to ascertain that it was not inferior to the area that he was getting in the garden colony. An upper limit of 20 per cent was fixed as the share of East Punjab residents, but actually they have received only 6 per cent area on account of greater demand from displaced landholders.

What was the need of establishing so many garden colonies? With so much emphasis on the production of cereals the necessity of fruit culture has been questioned in quarters who have little knowledge of the science of dietetics. The value of protective foods in human diet has been only recently recognised. Protective foods are rich in vitamins and minerals, and protect the human body against deficiency diseases. Among the protective foods are fruits along with vegetables, milk and eggs. A monotonous diet of cereals and pulses dulls a person's faculties, and explains low intelligence and lack of energy in communities which do not make sufficient use of protective foods. "The people of Hunza", says Major General R. McCarrison, "make less use of meat than either the Sikhs or the Pathans. Their food is much the same as that of Sikhs but less rich in milk, their stock being confined to goats. They are, however, great fruit-eaters, especially of apricots and mulberries. They use apricots and mulberries in both the fresh and dry state, drying sufficient of their rich harvest of them for use throughout the autumn and winter months. Dried mulberries are mixed with the whole meal flour, and made into cakes which form their staple articles of diet. Meat is a luxury used only on special occasions. These people are unsurpassed by any Indian race in physique; they are long lived, vigorous in youth and age, capable of great endurance, and enjoy remarkable freedom from disease in general". It is clear from what these authorities say that the more fruit people eat, the greater is their capacity for work and enjoyment of health and happiness.

The minimum requirement of fruit per individual has been calculated at two ounces per day. As compared with the

requirements, the consumption is far less, as production of fruit in India is very low. On account of the partition it has fallen still lower. In West Punjab fruit culture received a great impetus on account of the zealous work of the Fruit Specialist S. Lal Singh, who on his return from U.S.A. spared no effort to raise orchards of oranges on the model of California in the canal colonies. As a result of the partition, E. Punjab became deficit in citrus fruit. Flourishing citrus orchards were left on the other side of the border, and the gardens that fell on this side were mostly old and had passed fruit bearing stage, in many cases, and were usually small and uneconomic.

CLIMATE OF PUNJAB

Although East Punjab is a small State, she is lucky in having a variety of climates ranging from Alpine, temperate to hot and arid. The climate of the Punjab plains is determined by their distance from the sea and the existence of formidable mountain barriers in the North and the West. The factor of elevation makes the climate of the Himalayan tracts very different from that of the plains. Still more striking is the contrast between the Indian Himalayan climate and the Central Asian Trans-Himalayan climate of Spiti, and Lahaul. The winter or north-east monsoon does not penetrate into the East Punjab, where light westerly and northerly winds prevail during the cold season. What rain is received is due to land storms originating beyond the western frontier. The branch of the summer or south-west monsoon, which affects the East Punjab chiefly is that which blows up the Bay of Bengal. The rain clouds striking the Eastern Himalaya are deflected to the west and forced up the Gangetic plains by south-easterly winds. The lower ranges of the Punjab Himalayas receive in this way very heavy downpours. The rain extends into the plains, but exhausts itself and dies away pretty rapidiy to the south and the west. The Bombay branch of the monsoon mostly spends itself on the Ghats and in the Deccan. But a part of it penetrates from time to time to the south-east Punjab, and, if it is sucked into the Bay Current, the result is widespread rain. The East

Punjab is subject to extremes of cold and heat. During winter the disturbances from the west, which pass across, are as a rule preceded by a rapid rise of temperature and succeeded by a large fall; and from time to time temperatures several degrees below the freezing point are recorded even in the plains. In summer, which lasts from April to the end of June, hot dry winds prevail in the afternoon; and in May and June temperatures from 110 to 120 degrees are recorded. The intensity of heat is relieved at intervals by the occurrence of a series of dust storms and thunder storms, which are sometimes accompanied with rain. During the monsoon season the heat, although comparatively mild on rainy days, is still intense during the breaks in the rains. It begins to moderate about the middle of September, and from the beginning of October though the days are still hot, the nights are fairly cool. The months of October, and November, and the greater part of December, during which weather is generally dry and temperature is falling rapidly, form in fact the most pleasant part of the year in the East Punjab. Within the hills the seasons and their changes are similar, though of course the heat is much more moderate and cold considerably more severe.

E. PUNJAB: RAINFALL DISTRIBUTION

District	Monsoon June to September	Winter Dec. to March	Annual
Hissar	12.21	1.87	15.26
Rohtak	16.80	2.07	19.76
Gurgaon	18.89	1.85	22.08
Karnal	18.44	2.74	22.67
Ambala	27.87	4.35	34.24
Kangra	47.11	9.14	59.37
Hoshiarpur	24.26	5.33	31.48
Jullundur	19.56	4.12	25.37
Ludhiana	19.48	3.55	24.73
Ferozepure	11.22	2.24	14.56
Amritsar	16.35	3.85	21.77
Gurdaspur	26.94	6.70	35.80
Simla	29.78	9.72	45.96

E. PUNJAB: TEMPERATURES

Station	Mean Maximum temperature		Mean Minimum temperature		Record temperature			
	May	June	December	January	Highest	Month	Lowest	Month
Simla	72.1	73.1	39.3	35.9	94.4	May	17.1	Feb.
Hissar	106.5	106.8	42.8	42.7	121.1	May	29.0	Jan.
Ambala	103.7	102.7	43.1	43.3	117.6	May	30.7	Feb.
Ludhiana	103.9	104.7	44.4	44.4	119.0	May	24.0	Dec.

HORTICULTURAL REGIONS OF THE EAST PUNJAB

According to climate, the East Punjab can be divided into four zones :

(i) The Himalayan zone, comprising the districts of Kangra and Simla, with cool temperate climate.

(ii) The Sub-montane, comprising the districts of Ambala, Hoshiarpur, and Gurdaspur.

(iii) The Central Zone, comprising the central districts of Amritsar, Jullundur, and Ludhiana, with a moderate climate.

(iv) The Arid Zone, comprising the districts of Ferozepur, Hissar, and Gurgaon.

In the extreme north are Kulu and Simla with cool temperate climate so suitable for apples and persimmon. Palampur tehsil of Kangra district, with the 16,000 feet snowy range of the Dhaula Dhar giving birth to numerous fresh water streams which traverse the tilted plain of the valley, is suitable for tea-cultivation and for some varieties of peach and plum.

Below the Himalayas are the districts of the Siwalik range—Ambala, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur. The sub-montane tehsils of these districts enjoy a moderate climate with a rainfall of 30 to 40 inches. Frosts are also experienced in winter and in summer it does not become uncomfortably hot as in other parts of North India. The Rupar and Kharar tehsils of Ambala district and the entire area in Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur districts is a fertile agricultural tract, well-covered with trees, particularly mangoes and *shisham*, and has been rightly named as the garden land of the East Punjab. The districts of Ambala and

Hoshiarpur are drained by a number of *chos*, monsoon torrential streams, whose fury has been curbed in Hoshiarpur district by intensive soil conservation measures taken by the Forest Department. Soil in Gurdaspur district is more fertile as compared with the sister districts of the submontane area. On account of absence of natural drainage in the form of *chos*, in the years of heavy rainfall, the Gurdaspur plain is liable to floods. These three districts of the sub-montane area are suitable for the growth of mangoes and citrus, particularly *Santra* orange. In Pathankot tehsil of district Gurdaspur even blood-red oranges and *litchis* are successfully grown. The garden colonies of Adhoi Tolanwali and Khanpur in Ambala, and Dalamwal in Hoshiarpur, are particularly suitable for the growth of grafted mangoes like the *Dusehri*, *Langra* and *Sufaida*. The garden colonies of Dyalgarh and Khojepur in Gurdaspur, which are situated on the Amritsar-Pathankot road, are particularly suitable for grafted mangoes, *litchis*, *Santra*, peaches, plums, and pears.

Of the central districts, Amritsar is the most fertile, and also enjoys the advantage of canal irrigation. The garden colony of Khankot is close to the city of Amritsar on the Grand Trunk road, and apart from the facility of canal irrigation, it can also be easily electrified and can have tube-well irrigation. This colony is suitable for the growth of pears and banana. The Patti garden colony in this district has a fertile soil, and has the additional advantage of plentiful supply of canal water, and for the cultivation of *Malta* oranges it will be a most successful colony in the East Punjab. The garden colony of Kingra-Boot is close to Jullundur town and a number of tube-wells have been sunk. The soil is suitable for *Santra* and *Malta* oranges, and on account of nearness to the town it will be particularly suitable for market gardening and dairying. The same would apply to Jogiana-Kanganwal and Khanna colonies in Ludhiana district.

The soil and climatic conditions in the garden colonies of Ferozepur and Hissar are similar to those of Lyallpur and Montgomery. Rainfall is scanty, but the soil is a fertile

tract of rich alluvium. With the extension of canal irrigation the garden colonies in these districts would become the main centres for supplying citrus fruit to Punjab (I) and Delhi.

We have seen that there is enormous scope for the development of fruit industry in the East Punjab. According to the Fruit Specialist of Government, the area under citrus can easily be trebled. Although a vast majority of the gardens on this side are mango gardens, still Punjab (I) imports mangoes. Apart from favourable climate, and large unsatisfied demand for fruit, the authors of the scheme had also in mind the large incomes that the gardens gave, particularly in canal colonies. Instances were not uncommon when fruit crops had given net income of Rs. 2,000 per acre in case of well-managed orchards. On an average income from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 per acre may be expected from an orchard.

IRRIGATION

We have seen that there are fewer and inferior gardens in the districts which formed the East Punjab than there were in the districts which comprised the Pakistan Punjab. There are two reasons for this. One is that the holdings on the Indian side of the border are small and scattered. The other is the lack of irrigation. These two drawbacks could only be overcome through a state sponsored scheme of gardening which could give the growers compact holdings and an enhanced and assured supply of water. In the canal colonies in the West Punjab the holdings were large and compact, and water supply from the canals was abundant. The scheme of Garden Colonies is an effective solution of the handicaps under which horticulture in the East Punjab was suffering as compared to the West Punjab. In fact it is a little more than that. If the growers are concentrated at specific places, they get more money out of their gardens. The principal is that the larger the garden, the greater the income per acre. Fruit growing is a branch of agriculture, which is particularly amenable to mass scale methods. The per acre cost on such items as supervision,

production of nursery plants, control of pests and diseases, etc., is appreciably reduced if there are large areas under a single fruit crop at one place. It is also possible to organize marketing on proper lines, to attract customers, to start subsidiary industries such as cold storage and fruit preservation, and thus to derive the maximum returns from the fruit orchards. The advantages accruing from large scale gardening are also available if we have concentrations of gardens although owned by different individuals. The existence of extensive blocks of evacuee land made these concentrations possible. The demand for large and compact blocks of good land for garden colonies was easily met because such blocks were available in a large number of evacuee villages. The other obstacle in the way of successful gardening, the absence of a constant and certain supply of water, has been only partially overcome. Fifteen out of 27 colonies get canal water. Although the amount of water that they are getting at present is not sufficient, Government can attend to their demand much better than it could if it came from persons having scattered gardens. Under the existing rules for supply of canal water to fruit trees, four colonies, i.e., Bir Akhara in Ludhiana, Patti in Amritsar, and Kharkhauda and Lahli in Rohtak, can be supplied with water for all the area which is to be planted under fruit trees. The other colonies will also get additional supplies of water by and by when new rules are framed by the Irrigation Department, and more water is available in the canals.

For the remaining colonies which are dependent on sub-soil water for irrigation purposes, and also for three of the canal irrigated colonies which were not getting sufficient water, the Government have advanced a loan of Rs. 7½ lakhs for sinking tube-wells. Twenty-five thousand rupees have been given for one tube-well each. Tube-wells are being sunk in the following colonies: Dyalgarh, Jalalabad, Boot Kingra, Mahalon, Alowal, Panam, Rahon, Jogiana-Kangalwal Adhoi Tolanwali, Morinda, Khanpur, Kachrauli, Jundla, and Lahli.

SELECTION OF GARDEN COLONISTS

The Garden Colonists are generally educated persons, who

have experience of gardening, and have been carefully selected. Some 6,000 applications were received for allotment in these colonies. A preliminary selection from among these was made by two members of the Agriculture Department according to the percentage laid down for different categories of displaced applicants, e.g., large fruit growers, small fruit growers, graduates of Agricultural Colleges, graduate grantees, landholders without gardens, servicemen and ex-servicemen, public workers, etc. The final selection was made by a committee consisting of ministers, public men, and officers of the Agricultural and Rehabilitation departments. Vacancies occurring later were filled up by Director General Rehabilitation, subject to the approval of this Committee.

CONSOLIDATION OF LAND

Although the areas selected for garden colonies were in fairly compact blocks, they were not exclusively evacuee blocks, but were interspersed with pieces of non-evacuee area, which naturally could not form part of these colonies. These pieces were, therefore, removed to one side of the colony by a process of consolidation.

The islands of non-evacuee areas have been absorbed in the colonies, and their owners have been given evacuee land of equivalent value on the fringes of the colonies. This operation was followed by *killabandi*, which means demarcation of one acre plots or *killas*, as they are called, on the ground. Fields with irregular boundaries are unsuitable for mechanized cultivation and horticulture, and through *killabandi* one acre plots were demarcated. Out of these *killas*, squares or rectangles were formed. This work was done by the Consolidation of Holdings Department of the State.

DEMARCATION OF LAY-OUTS

The areas reserved for these colonies having assumed a compact shape, roads, residential areas, sites for public buildings, nurseries, etc., were demarcated on them by the Town Planning Staff of the Public Works Department of the State with the assistance and advice of the Manag-

Planned orchard in a garden colony.

ing Committees of the Colonies. The roads were laid out in such a way that each plot had access to a road. The width of the main roads has been fixed at 27¼ feet, and that of the cross roads at 22 feet. Diagonal roads cutting through plots and fields have been avoided. Area has also been reserved for a common residential site for the allottees on scales varying from four kanals to six kanals per allottee. In Jullundur, Mahalon, Kachrauli, Dyalgarh, Khajoorke, and Bahauddin colonies the existing village sites were large enough for the allottees to build their houses on, and hence areas from agricultural land have not been reserved for residential purposes. For common buildings like office, market, shops, dispensary, library, and school, areas varying from 2 to 4 acres have been reserved close to the residential sites. These sites will be town-planned before the building work starts. A two-and-a-half-feet strip, running along the boundary line has also been left out for fencing. Trees will be planted along the roads and the boundary line.

ALLOTMENT OF PLOTS

After the colonies had thus been laid out, allotment of plots, i.e., the partition of the colony among individual allottees was taken up. Before the plots could be distributed among the allottees, these were demarcated on the ground. Theoretically, each allottee of one unit was entitled to a plot of 20 acres, and each allottee of half a unit was entitled to a plot of 10 acres. But in each colony some land has been taken up for nurseries, residential site, common buildings and fencing. This reduced the size of the plots by some two acres. The problem was how to partition the remaining area among the allottees in a fair manner. All the area of a colony was not of uniform quality. Several factors influence the income from land, and those factors may be present in different fields in variable quantities. Some fields may have soil of superior quality, others may be nearer a national or state highway or may be adjacent to a canal outlet or a well. Others may not be so favourably situated. Still others may be sandy, may be infested with salts, or may be waterlogged, or may have pits, depressions

or mounds in them. Fullest consideration had to be given to all these factors. There were two ways of assuring fair treatment to everybody, and minimising the risk of poor allotments to some allottees. One was that if inferior area lay on one side of the colony, it should be separated and distributed proportionately among all the allottees so that each allottee gets a portion of the inferior and a portion of the superior area. This was not, however, a very happy solution since it is inconvenient to have a holding in two separate plots.

The other method was that everybody should get his allotment in one consolidated piece but the size of the plot should be varied to counterbalance superiority or inferiority of the fields. Thus, those who get some inferior fields should get larger plots than others who get all good land. For this purpose, each *killa* or an acre plot was valued in terms of annas, better *killas* getting more value and inferior *killas* getting less. Since the value of each allottee's holding in terms of rupees and annas had to be equal, the allottees of inferior fields naturally get more of them. The inferiority in quality of soil was thus made up by area. These fields had been valued even before for purposes of general allotment, but that valuation was too broad-based as it was based on assessment circles, and percentage of irrigated area in large chunks was taken into consideration. It took no account of individual fields, having the same source of water supply and situated in the same assessment circle. A more detailed valuation was, therefore, necessary. In all the colonies, except four, the single plot method has been followed, and allottees have received their entire area at one place. The four colonies in which two-plot system was followed are Jalalabad, Baluana, Bir Akhara, and Jogiana.

In Jundla colony in Karnal district, the allottees of superior plots paid money to compensate the allottees of inferior plots. Part of this colony was overgrown with shrubs and trees. Those who received plots in this area have been given money by other allottees as the cost of clearing the jungle.

After the colony area had been demarcated into plots

of equal value the next question was, "who should get which plot"? The distribution of plots among the allottees was done by lottery system. All the plots were numbered. Each allottee drew a lot, and was allotted the plot that he drew. Groups of friends and relatives who wanted to have plots adjacent to each other selected a group leader who drew the lot, and the members of the group were given plots in the serial order in which their names were recorded in the list, with the group leader getting the first plot.

CO-OPERATIVE MANAGEMENT

Each allottee has thus been given a plot which he will own and manage as his own property. His income as a Garden Colony allottee will be the income from the produce of fields comprising that plot. This means that, like other landholders, his interest will be confined to his own plot of land. But we have been talking of the advantages of mass scale production in gardening, of wide roads and fencing, of clean and dependable nurseries, and of cold storages. What practical steps have been taken to ensure the development of these facilities? The allottees in each garden colony have been knit together into a co-operative society. The general management of the colony will be in the hands of this society. The rules bind every member to devote at least ¾th of the area to fruit garden according to the plan drawn up by the Agricultural Department. Every member is required to carry out faithfully all the horticultural operations, like production of nursery plants, irrigation, cultivation, spraying, gardening, packing, preservation and marketing of fruits and such other works as may be decided upon by the society. Every member has to sign an agreement to the effect that in consequence of being a member of the Co-operative Garden Colony Society he will carry out such horticultural operations as the society may direct and in the event of the breach of this undertaking he will pay the fine that Society may impose. The day-to-day administration of the Colony is to be carried on by a Managing Committee consisting of not less than seven and not more than nine members. Extra Assistant Director of Agriculture of the district

is an additional member of the Managing Committee. These members are elected for one year by the members of the society in a general meeting.

Among the objects of the Garden Colony Societies the following are compulsory for all members:

1. To arrange for the development of the garden colony which may include such activities as the levelling of land, provision of water channels, roads, fencing, manuring, cultivation, etc:
2. To secure or raise nursery plants and seeds of approved quality;
3. To arrange for the supply of horticultural tools and implements;
4. To arrange for the control and eradicating of plant diseases, insect pests, and obnoxious weeds;
5. To arrange for expert technical advice and guidance;
6. To train the members in the art of gardening, vegetable growing and preservation of fruits and vegetables on scientific lines;
7. To supply literature on horticulture and vegetable growing;
8. To arrange exhibitions and shows for the sale of produce;
9. To arrange for loans and grants and to receive deposits for financial assistance to members in furtherance of the objectives of the society; and
10. To employ staff considered necessary for implementing the objectives of the society which will also include the security measures.

The following facilities can be provided at the expense of the members who request for the same:

(i) To arrange for grading, packing and marketing of fruits and fruit products;

(ii) To set up retail and whole-sale shops at suitable towns, cities and other places and to erect godowns and cold storage;

(iii) To arrange for the manufacture of vegetable and fruit products like squashes, jellies, jams and *morabas*, and canning and bottling of fruits and

Use of tractors by refugee settlers in Garden Colonies.

A Citrus Nursery in a Garden Colony.

vegetables etc.; and

(iv) To arrange for subsidiary industries like poultry, bee-keeping and dairying.

NURSERIES

In horticulture the quality of plants is all important and the success and failure of fruit gardening is dependent on the quality and reliability of the fruit plants selected for planting. While in annual cropping mistakes committed in the selection of the seed are revealed at the end of the season, in the case of perennials like fruit trees the mistakes are only discovered when the trees reach the bearing stage and by that time the savings of a life-time have been spent in nursing unwanted trees. I remember the case of a villager who wanted to raise an orchard of *malta* oranges, practsied false economy, and received a gift of saplings from a friend. After six years of nursing and hard work it was found that the plants which he had received as a gift were *Khatta* oranges and not *Maltas* as he expected. After wasting a fortune he realized that a fruit grower cannot take risks and he should have taken plants of a pedigree stock of known quality from a reliable nursery.

Areas varying from 3 to 15 acres according to the size of the colony have been reserved in all the colonies for raising nurseries. It is expected that the colonies will raise their progeny gardens in these nurseries under the expert technical guidance of the Fruit Specialist of the Government and his staff. The nearness of nurseries will also eliminate mortality in plants which occurs when they are transported from distant places. The cost of nursery plants is a major item of expenditure in the total cost of planting an orchard. By raising nurseries in each colony the cost of planting gardens will be appreciably reduced.

INTER-CULTURE

Only ¾th of the area of each garden plot is to be ultimately put under fruit trees, and the rest is to be utilised for raising food grain, fodder crops, and vegetables. The area

under the garden will be spaciously laid out with fruit trees at least 30 feet apart, and a judicious programme of inter-cropping will be followed. Leguminous fodder crops like *berseem*, which yield good income and are also beneficial to the growth will be sown in the area between the rows of fruit trees. Cultivation of soil not only promotes aeration of the soil, but the root-hairs of the fruit trees also get pruned thus inducing heavy bearing.

FINANCES

These co-operative societies have been financed partly by loans from Government, which have been advanced on a liberal scale for sinking tube-wells and for purchase of tractors, and partly by levying admission fee and share money on the members. An admission fee of Rs. 5 and share money at the rate of Rs. 50 per acre is collected from each member. At this rate a member holding a full unit of 20 acres has to pay Rs. 1,000.

SUBSIDIARY OCCUPATIONS AND INDUSTRIES

In addition to horticulture, the Colonies may also take up side industries, like poultry, bee-keeping, vegetable seed production, dairying etc., and subsidiary industries like fruit preservation and cold storage. They may also develop facilities for leading a group life in the form of community dining halls, schools, creches for children, guest houses, clubs and reading rooms. In short they may provide themselves with an atmosphere that tends to bring out the best in man as well as in soil.

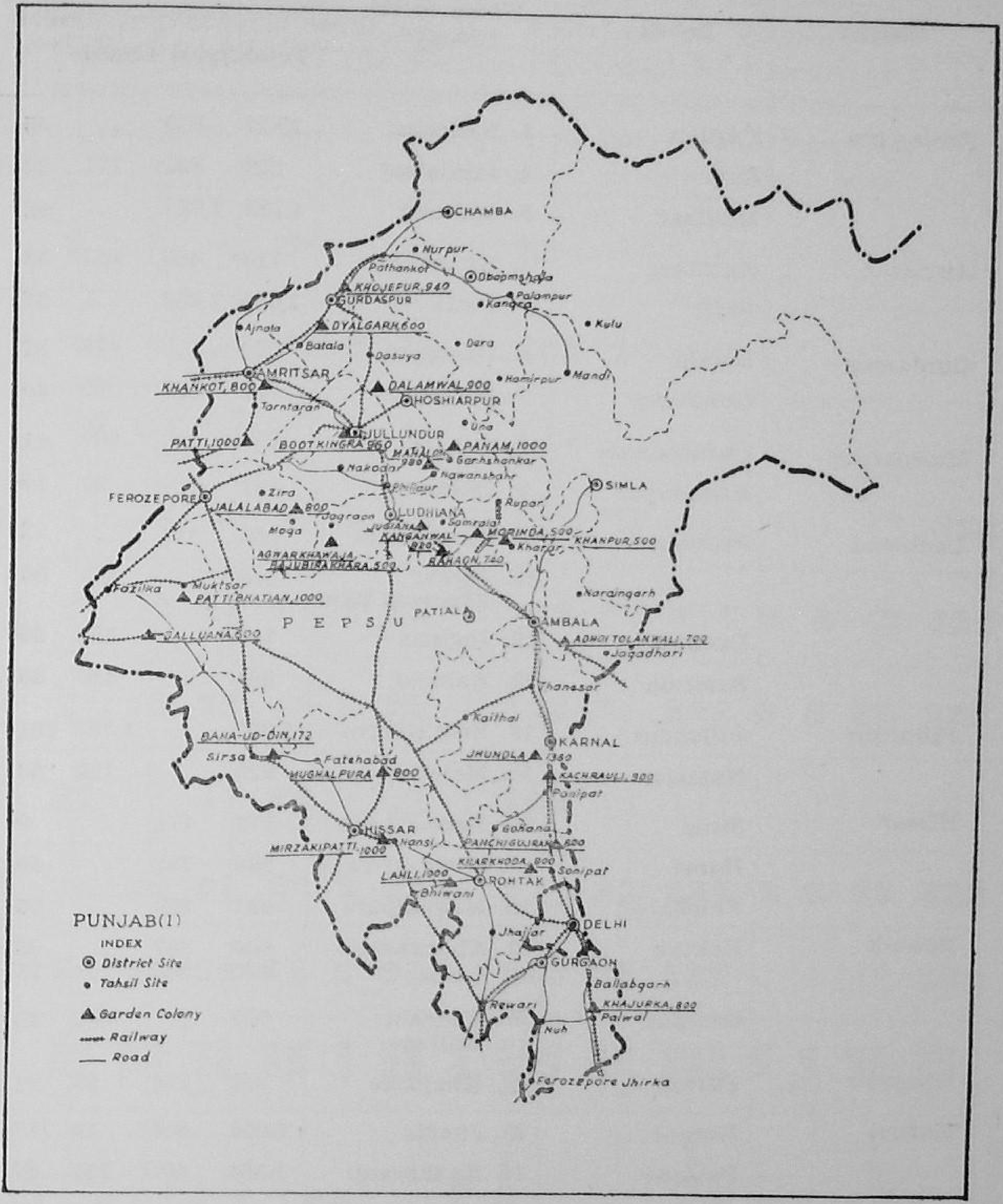
While the members of the garden colonies will enjoy the benefit of co-operation in agri-horticultural operation where co-operative effort is remunerative, such as irrigation, nursery raising, tractor cultivation, cold storing and marketing of produce and general management, full scope has also been provided for individual initiative. Each allottee will own and manage the fields allotted to him. if a member is lazy, he will himself have to suffer and he will not be a mill-stone round the neck of the co-operative society. In this respect these garden colonies resemble the Small-holders Co-operative Village 'The Moshav Ovdim'

of the Zionists in Israel. According to Mr. Kauffman, "In the settlements of this type every settler works his farm individually. In most of the other branches of the work as also in the life of the village, the social idea predominates. Accordingly the purchase of food supplies, tools and agricultural stock as well as the sale of produce are undertaken in common through special buying and selling co-operative societies of the organized Workers' Association. The village has a co-operative dairy, co-operative machine shed, workshops, stores and shops, as well as a common dispensary provided and run by the Works' Sick Fund".

The progress of the garden colonies will ultimately depend on the interest which the members take. In most of the garden colonies in Jullundur Division, the members actually reside in the colony areas, and good progress is expected. Unfortunately, this does not apply to some of the garden colonies in Ambala Division, where the number of absentee members, who mostly reside in big towns, is large. It would be advisable to make residence in the colony compulsory for the members, and exemptions should be granted only in exceptional cases where an allottee can provide a suitable nominee. Another factor which may prove critical is that of irrigation. Gardens cannot be grown without artificial means of irrigation, as Monsoon in India is the proverbial flirt. Percolation wells do not yield sufficient water supply for irrigating orchards. It is to be borne in mind that the water requirement of a garden are three times that of ordinary crops. Excepting the colonies in which tube-wells are being dug and a few where supply of canal water is sufficient, in the remaining the water supply is unsatisfactory. Unless these colonies are supplied with abundant supply of water, fruit culture is not likely to make headway.

The scheme of Garden Colonies is not merely a horticultural scheme. It is also a great social experiment, which will be watched with great interest by all those who are interested in progressive Horticulture. Intelligent and go-ahead farmers have been selected and given equal areas so that co-operation is facilitated. All the paraphernalia

of modern agri-horticulture like tube-wells, tractors, power spraying machines, etc., will be available in the garden colonies, and it is also hoped that most of these colonies will shortly be electrified. If all these advantages are intelligently exploited, the colonies will in the near future answer the vision of those who conceived them as centres of agricultural and social advancement—sort of large-scale model farms in the interior of the countryside.


CHAMBA
Nurpur
Pathankot
Dharmshala
Palampur
Kangra
Kulu
GURDASPUR
Ajnala
Batala
Dera
Dasuya
AMRITSAR
Hamirpur
Mandi
HOSHIARPUR
Tarntaran
Una
JULLUNDUR
Garhshankar
Nakodar
Nawanshahr
Phillaur
SIMLA
FEROZEPORE
Zira
Rupar
LUDHIANA
Jagraon
Samrala
Moga
Kharar
Naraingarh
Fazilka
Muktsar
P E P S U
PATIALA
AMBALA
Jagadhari
Thanesar
Kaithal
KARNAL
Sirsa
Fatehabad
Panipat
Gohana
HISSAR
Hansi
Sonipat
ROHTAK
Bhiwani
DELHI
Jhajjar
GURGAON
Ballabgarh
Rewari
Palwal
Nuh
Ferozepore Jhirka
KHOJEFUR, 940
DYALGARH, 600
KHANKOT, 800
DALAMWAL, 900
PATTI, 1000
BOOT KINGRA 960
PANAM, 1000
JALALABAD 800
MORINDA, 500
KHANPUR, 500
BAHAON, 740
PATTI BHATIAN, 1000
SALLUANA 600
ADHOI TOLANWALI, 700
BAHA-UD-DIN, 172
MUGHALPURA 800
JHUNDLA 1360
KACHRAULI, 900
MIRZAKIPATTI, 1000
PANCHIGUJRAN 600
KHARKHODA, 800
LAHLI, 1000
KHAJURKA, 800
PUNJAB(I)
INDEX
District Site
Tahsil Site
Garden Colony
Railway
Road

I. GARDEN COLONIES IN THE EAST PUNJAB

District	Tehsil	Name of the Colony	Area in Acres			No. of Allottees
			Total	Nehri	Chahi	
Ferozepore	Fazilka	1. Balluana	10,21	829	..	55
	Zira	2. Jalalabad	548	323	171	26
	Muktsar	3. Muktsar	1,233	1,067	..	62
Amritsar	Amritsar	4. Khankot	716	480	182	38
	Patti	5. Patti	1,038	1,033	1	57
Gurdaspur	Batala	6. Dyalgarh	572	..	496	32
	Gurdaspur	7. Khojepur	764	230	95	40
Hoshiarpur	Garhshanker	8. Panam	864	..	405	41
	Hoshiarpur	9. Dalamwal	187	..	20	10
Ludhiana	Jagraon	10. Bir Akhara	256	124	..	12
		11. Agwar Khawaja Baju	546	..	255	30
	Ludhiana	12. Jogiana	784	..	352	36
	Samrala	13. Rahaon	685	..	460	35
Jullundur	Jullundur	14. Boot Kingra	2,220	..	1,367	101
	Nakodar	15. Mahalon	970	..	722	50
Hissar	Sirsa	16. Baha-ud-din	172	174	..	9
	Hansi	17. Mirza-ki-Patti	998	792	..	49
	Fatehabad	18. Mughalpura	491	303	..	26
Rohtak	Rohtak	19. Kharkhauda	600	587	..	33
		20. Lahli	435	365	..	23
	Sonepat	21. Punchhi Gujran	959	..	532	43
Gurgaon	Palwal	22. Khajurke	262	124	25	21
Karnal	Karnal	23. Jundla	2,066	805	19	110
	Panipat	24. Kachhrauli	1,304	407	327	67
Ambala	Ambala	25. Adohi Tolan Wali	1,445	..	35	71
	Kharar	26. Khanpur	518	..	28	28
	Rupar	27. Morinda	500	..	276	28

II Percentage of various fruit trees proposed to be planted in different Garden Colonies of the East Punjab

Name of Garden Colony	Area in Acres	Man-goes	Citrus					Pear	Guava	Loquats	Pomeg-ranate	Litchi	Miscellaneous Peach, Ahru, Mango Phalsa, etc.
			Malta	Sang-tra	Kaghzi Lime	Sweet Lime	Lemon						
GURDASPUR													
Khojepur	764	50	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	10	—	10	10
Dyalgarh	572	50	10	10	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	10	10
AMRITSAR													
Khankot	716	20	30	—	—	—	—	40	—	—	—	—	10
Patti	1,036	20	40	—	10	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	10
JULLUNDUR													
Boot Kingra	1,956	15	40	—	15	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	10
Mahalon	970	15	40	—	15	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	10
HOSHIARPUR													
Panam	864	30	10	20	—	—	—	—	10	10	10	—	10
Dalamwal	195	50	5	10	5	—	—	—	10	5	—	5	10
LUDHIANA													
Bir Akhara (Jagraon)	802	10	40	—	10	10	10	—	10	—	—	—	10
Jogiana	830	10	40	—	10	10	10	—	10	—	—	—	10
Rahaon	685	10	40	—	10	10	10	—	10	—	—	—	10
Agwar Khawaja Baju	546	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
AMBALA													
Adohi Tolanwali	1,445	40	10	20	—	—	—	—	10	10	—	—	10
Morinda	500	40	—	20	—	—	—	—	20	10	—	—	10
Khanpur	508	40	—	10	10	10	—	—	20	—	—	—	10
KARNAL													
Jundla	2,066	35	30	—	5	5	5	—	55	—	5	—	10
Kachrauli	1,216	40	35	—	—	—	10	—	5	—	—	—	10
ROHTAK													
Lahli	435	15	40	—	20	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Panchhi Gujran	809	50	20	—	10	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	10
Kharkhauda	642	25	35	—	10	—	10	—	10	—	—	—	10
GURGAON													
Khajurke	262	—	40	—	40	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
HISSAR													
Mughalpura Uklana	491	—	50	—	20	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	10
Bahaud-Din	197	—	60	—	30	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	15
Mirza-ki-Patti	989	5	40	—	15	10	5	—	—	—	10	—	10
FEROZEPUR													
Balluana	1,021	10	50	—	10	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	10
Jalalabad	807	10	50	—	10	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	10
Patti Bhattian near Muktsar	1,223	10	50	—	10	10	10	—	—	—	—	—	10

CHAPTER 13

RURAL HOUSING SCHEME

BETTER villages with broad and sanitary streets and houses provided with windows and ventilators have been the dream and ideal of all enthusiasts, whether official or non-official, for the last decade. Those who are interested in rural development have realized that the present structure of villages and utter disregard of elementary rules of sanitation are affecting the health and spirits of the villagers. A healthy and robust rural population, with a progressive outlook on life, can develop only in sanitary villages. Clean and sanitary villages would have a far-reaching effect on the rural population, and their efficiency would also increase. In spite of the efforts of pioneers like Brayne, Mehta, and others, not many model villages have come into existence in India. There is no doubt that slight improvements have been made in some progressive villages such as paving of streets, providing ventilators to the houses, and soakage pits near wells,—but it was merely tinkering with a problem which required a much greater effort and a more drastic solution. Some enthusiastic idealists, who adopted the countryside, built model villages here and there e.g. Preet Nagar of Gurbakhsh Singh in Amritsar district in the East Punjab, and Siri Niketan of Tagore in West Bengal. These villages, however, have remained islands in the countryside, isolated from the surrounding rural area, and have not grown into "light-houses" whose light could penetrate the darkness of the countryside. This was partly due to the urban origin of the inhabitants of these colonies, who lived on a different plane and could not share the life of ordinary rural people and hence these villages failed to serve as models in the countryside.

How is it that tangible results have not been obtained in spite of the zeal of village workers? The explanation lies

A Demolished Evacuee Village.

in the structure of our villages, with houses built back to back and wall against wall, and narrow crooked lanes. The solution really lies in surgery rather than physic; and extensive demolition was required and building anew in a planned manner. Neither the Government nor the people, however, could ever think of adopting such a drastic remedy.

DEMOLISHED EVACUEE VILLAGES

The partition of the Punjab which resulted in migration of population in both directions provided such an opportunity. The partition shook the countryside like an earthquake, and left death and destruction in its trail. Ruined villages with jagged mud-walls pointing to the pitiless sky, with death-like silence prevailing and casting gloom, were a familiar sight in the countryside in 1947. The countryside in East Punjab was littered with several hundred such completely demolished villages, the children of partition. During the migration of populations between the two Punjabs, a large number of houses were destroyed by the evacuating Muslims, who followed a scorched earth policy, and used beams, doors, and windows as fuel in their camps. The local people also dismantled many more in the post-partition confusion to obtain building material and fuel. The refugees also, because of uncertainty, caused further damage. Rains and floods, of which East Punjab has had a generous measure during the last three years, also took a heavy toll of the *kacha* houses. The result was that there were some 1,800 evacuee villages in which the number of demolished houses was 90% or more.

In some respects this was a very depressing situation; but at the same time it was also a great opportunity. While houses are now needed badly for sheltering the allottees of land who have settled in these villages as a result of the quasi-permanent allotment of land, these ruined villages have also provided an opportunity for developing at least one-third of villages in East Punjab on a new basis. The Government of the State has very wisely not wasted this opportunity. It has chalked out a scheme of model villages throughout the State. The Rehabilitation Department, in

co-operation with the Public Works Department, has gone into action in the countryside. They have demolished and levelled the ruined houses, and have laid out sites for the settlers to build their houses on a planned and organised basis. These plans embody the latest ideas on rural reconstruction, and wide roads are provided so that every house is accessible to bullock cart traffic.

TYPE DESIGNS OF LAY-OUTS

Such a large number of villages could not be tackled on individual basis. Eleven type-designs have been prepared for villages with population ranging from 25 to 100 families, and these are adapted to different village sites. These model lay-outs provide for three standard types of houses—for land allottees, their tenants, and village artisans and agricultural labourers.

The Central and the Development Administrations in Buildings and Roads Branch, and the Irrigation Branch of the P. W. D., all jointly provided the field staff required for demarcation and laying out of villages. There were about 40 Sub-Divisions in the Irrigation Branch and a similar number in the two combined Administrations of the Buildings and Roads Branch. 80 Sub-Divisions were thus available to handle this work, and as it was extraneous to their normal duties, it was essential to add to such of the Sub-Divisions handling this work, one Sectional charge i.e. one overseer with three Khalasis each. The distribution of work was arranged on the principle that the nearest Sub-Division of a particular Branch was entrusted with work falling in its jurisdiction. For instance, villages near about roads were put in charge of the Central Administration of the Buildings and Roads Branch; those near existing canals and distributaries in charge of the Irrigation Branch; while those in proximity of development works in charge of that Administration. Special Sub-Divisions were created in Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur districts where the number of demolished villages was high.

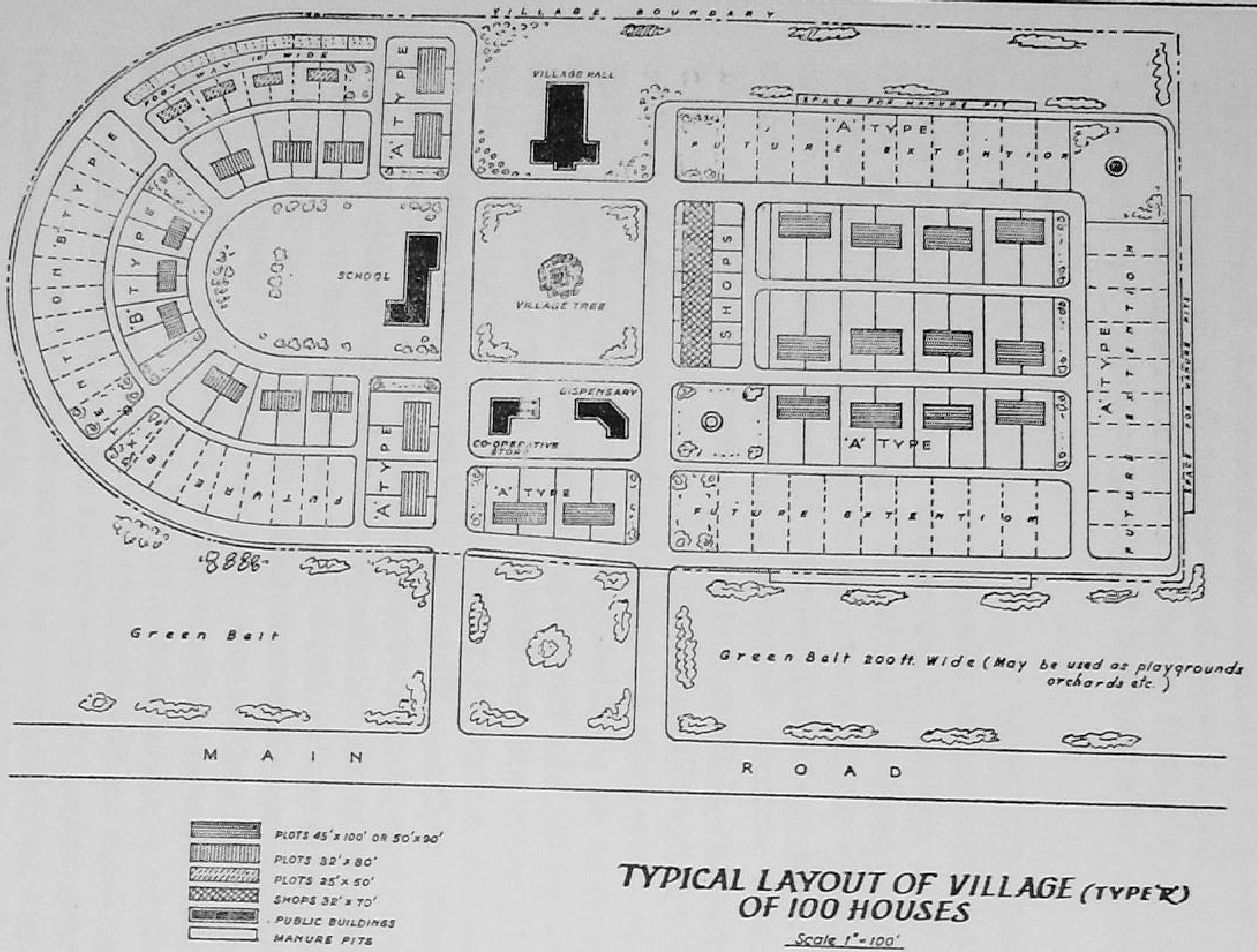
The Executive Engineer (Designs) of the Buildings and Roads Branch, was entrusted with the task of evolving the type lay-outs plans, in consultation with the Assistant Pro-

vincial Town Planner. The field staff, consisting of 80 overseers attached to the Irrigation Branch and the Buildings and Roads Branch, worked under the control of the respective Sub Divisional Officers and their Executive Engineers. The Office of the Assistant Town Planner at Jullundur was attached to the Rehabilitation Department for purposes of collecting and supplying statistics that were needed.

MODEL VILLAGES

All these model villages cannot obviously be of a strictly uniform design. Factors, like the area and shape of the village site, the situation of large trees and standing pucca buildings which are to be retained, the number of settlers etc., will make for diversity in design. But there will be certain common features in all these villages. The most important of these features is a central open space around which the village will be laid out in blocks or rows. This open space will generally be closed by houses and public buildings on all sides, thereby securing a sense of intimacy and security in the village community. In the bigger villages houses will be built around quadrangles. As far as possible, a row of plots would contain plots of the same depth and type. Where depth is irregular, different types of houses may be mixed according to the availability of space. There is in all villages provision for community buildings also, such as Panchayat Ghar, places of worship, school, and dispensary. Other necessities of the villagers, like the village pond and manure pits, were also not ignored. These will be located on the outskirts of the village. Manure pits will be provided at the rate of two or more per allottee in the fields on the outskirts of "abadi" land, so that they are easily accessible. The size of the pits will be 16′x6′x3′, and there will be a space of 4′ between two rows.

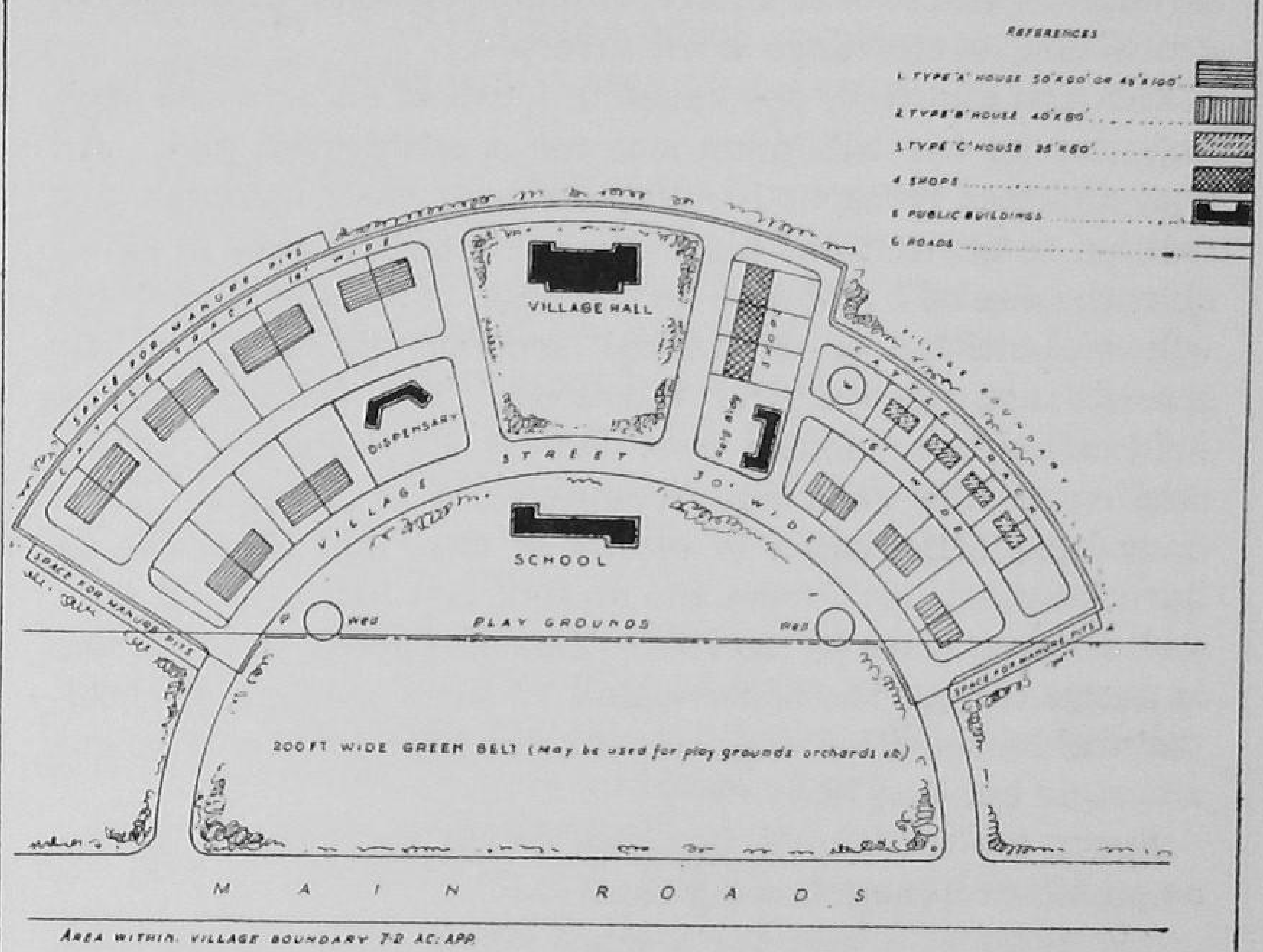
As most of the "abadis" (village sites) are irregular, adjustments between the cultivated land and the area of the "abadi" site will have to be made. If the present site is not sufficient for the allottees and others as well as for provision of special amenities and future expansion, more area can be taken by the consent of the land allottees from



TYPICAL LAYOUT OF VILLAGE (TYPE 'R')
OF 100 HOUSES

Scale 1" = 100'

TOTAL AREA WITHIN VILLAGE BOUNDARY 20 AC APR



TYPICAL LAYOUT FOR A VILLAGE (TYPE, G)
FOR 25 HOUSES
SCALE 100'=1 INCH

shamilat land or even from agricultural land, and, if their consent is not forthcoming, by acquisition. Although in a vast majority of villages the existing abadi sites are suitable and are to be retained, particularly in the riverain areas where villages are built on high mounds immune from floods, in some villages it is desirable to shift the abadi site on considerations of drainage, communications, or excessive demolition or clearance work involved.

For land allottees, one kanal or 1/8th of an acre has been regarded as the minimum size for a residential plot. All land allottees, irrespective of the size of their holdings, are entitled to at least one plot. Where sufficient area is available, the size of a plot may be 2 kanals. The bigger allottees will be entitled to additional accommodation for their tenants and agricultural labourers. The houses will be built after the models provided by Government, or according to the need and requirements of villages. They have been demarcated in blocks of two, and these blocks have been set back from the streets and paths by 10 feet, and in some cases by 15 feet. This staggered building line is necessary for the achievement of some amount of architectural composition and to break the monotony of a strong and rigid building line.

Space for communal facilities would be provided as far as possible on the following basis:—

(1) **School.** 1 acre for a small village, and 2 acres for a bigger village.

(2) **Village Hall.** ½ acre.

(3) **Cooperative Society and Dispensary.** These would be built alongside the rows of shops at the rate of one plot for each of such buildings.

(4) **Wells.** These would be provided in rectangles or squares.

In villages of more than 100 houses, provision of sites would be made for a rural dispensary, a veterinary dispensary, and a flour mill. Where sufficient number of *chamars* have been settled, and are engaged in leather tanning etc. separate provision would be made for plots for this trade, at some distance from the main village site.

The village would generally be isolated from the main

traffic route by a green belt of a width of 100 to 200 feet. Such land, if it falls within the village site or *shamilat* land, will be left for playground or school.

The streets of the village will admit of vehicular traffic, and may vary from 20 feet to 30 feet in width. The *rastas* or footways will not carry any vehicular traffic, but will serve to provide access to fronts of houses. They would be 10 feet wide. Cattle tracks which would primarily serve for access of cattle to the rear of houses would be 16 feet wide.

As far as possible, all flourishing trees would be preserved, even though falling within plots. In the proposed layout, an attempt would also be made to ensure that no existing pucca structures come in the alignment of roads. It would be so adjusted that existing houses fall in one or other of the proposed building sites so that they are left in tact.

Wherever the demarcation work involves demolition and clearance of debris to an extent unmanageable by manual labour, use would be made of bull dozers and graders. In such cases it would also be investigated as to whether it will not be more economical to site the village abadi at a new place altogether, and as to whether the allottees of land are agreeable to such a change of site.

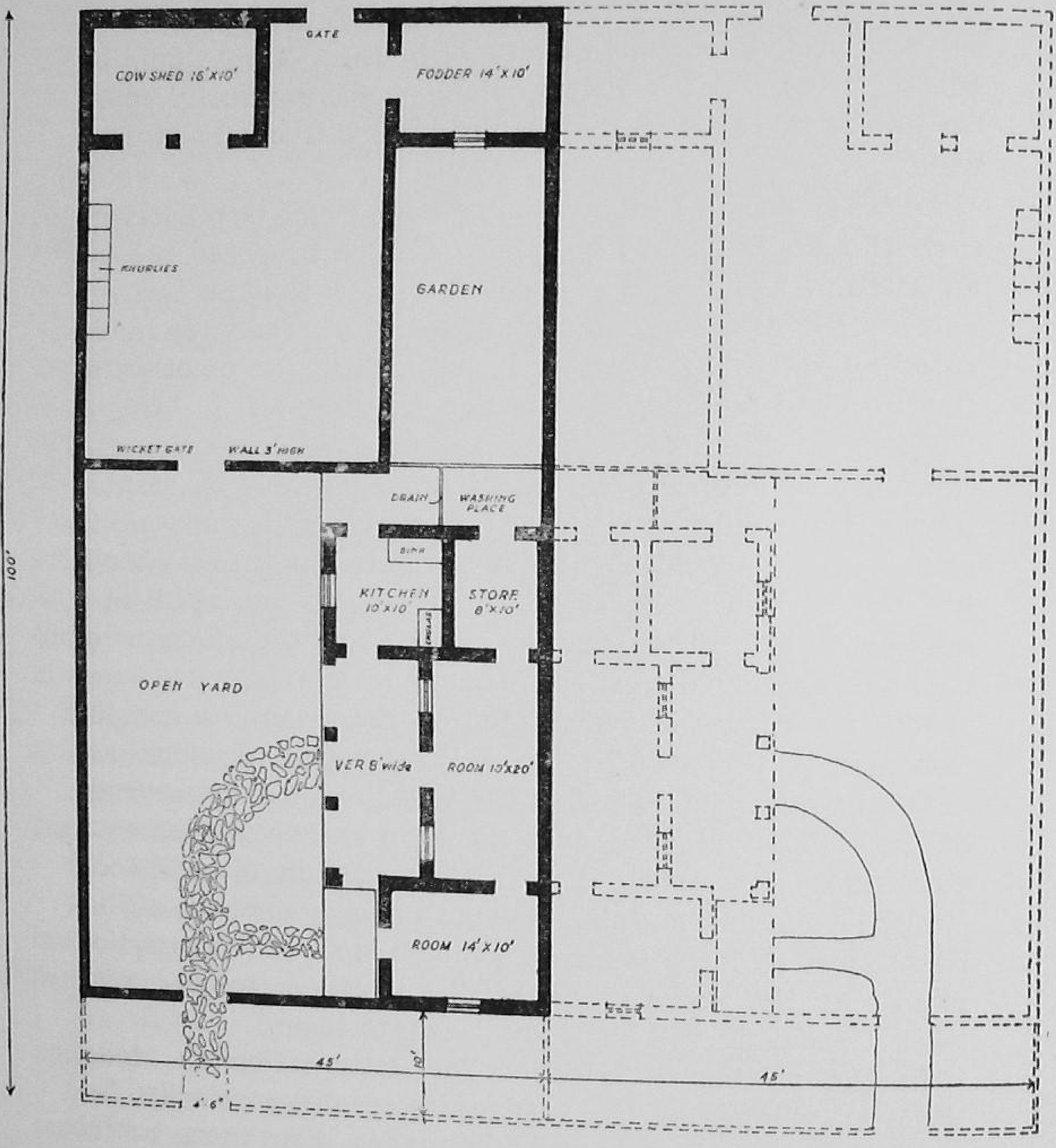
When a village is demarcated on the ground, a completion plan is prepared by the P.W.D., copies of which are kept as permanent record in the tehsil and district revenue offices. This will serve as a check on anti-social elements, who make unauthorised encroachments on open spaces, public roads, and streets. Village Panchayats have authority to punish trespassers on common land, and 'completion plans', as the maps of "abadis" are called, coupled with *Sakni Jamabandis*, will be of great help to them.

In the matter of selection for demarcation as Model Villages, villages on the roads-sides receive a priority, because their greater accessibility makes them more useful as models, and more people have an opportunity to see and emulate them.

The houses will be constructed by the allottees at their own cost. The construction of community buildings will also be carried out, and paid for by the villagers them-

TYPE PLAN FOR A VILLAGE HOUSE (TYPE 'B')

SCALE 1" = 8'   (AREA OF PLOT ONE KANAL APP.)



selves, through their Co-operative Societies or Panchayats. Government will provide loans and grants to the allottees of land for the building of houses. Loans have been provided at the rate of Rs. 300|- per house in the case of allottees of five standard acres or more, and grants have been provided to smaller allottees either in cash or in kind in the shape of building material. Considering the high building cost, the loans and grants are inadequate, and it is presumed that the resettlers will supplement Government aid from their own resources.

The main objective of the Rural Housing Scheme was to pave way for the allotment of demolished houses and sites in evacuee villages which presented the pattern of a jig-saw-puzzle. A village where 200 families of Muslim evacuees lived, is now inhabited in some cases by 40 to 50 families of displaced persons. This is typical of the villages where the colonists have been settled, as their holdings are larger compared with those of the Muslim evacuees who were owners of small areas. It is, thus, in the case of villages resettled by the colonists that the Rural Housing Scheme has worked to maximum advantage, and has provided scope for allowing larger building space to the resettlers. The Rural Housing Scheme may not have produced Model Villages in the strict sense, but at least it has done away with the evil of narrow and crooked lanes, which are the worst features of an Indian village at present. The results of the scheme may not be visible now, but five years hence when the resettlers would have amassed sufficient surplus, and would be in a position to build pucca houses, this scheme will be appreciated. For a village to become "model" in the true sense, it should have pucca drains, brick-paved streets, and also community buildings, like "Panchayatghars", schools, and hospitals. These new features can be added only if the people as well as Government gird up their loins. Half the money should be provided by the people in cash, kind or labour, and the remaining half should be provided by Government. It is only a contributary basis of finance which will stimulate self-help that these villages will become "model villages" in due course.

CHAPTER 14

RESTORING A SHATTERED RURAL ECONOMY

LIKE any other industry, Agriculture also requires capital for its successful prosecution. Most displaced persons, when they started settling on evacuee land, did not have any money. Only some of them were able to bring with them their bullocks and agricultural implements. But even they were in need of money for the purchase of food, fodder, and seed. The majority, however, did not possess bullocks, nor agricultural implements. Their traditional financier, the *bania*, who came away with them was in difficulties himself. And even if he had managed to escape into India with a little money, the present status or the future prospects of his old clients were not such as to inspire confidence in the *bania* or any other money-lending agency. Under such conditions it became the duty of Government to assist the displaced cultivators by loaning money to them. From September, 1947, to March, 1951, over Rs. 4½ crores were loaned to displaced landowners for different purposes, out of which the maximum amount (Rs. one crore and 10 lakhs) was loaned for the purchase of bullocks. The second and third places are occupied by food (Rs. 82 lakhs) and seed (Rs. 58 lakhs). Other objects for which these loans were distributed were repair and construction of houses, purchase of seed, fodder, agricultural implements, persian wheels, water pumps, tractors, tube-wells, and repair and boring of wells.

Taccavi loans were given in two phases: before the quasi-permanent allotment of land and after the completion of quasi permanent allotment in 1950. There was a radical change in the attitude of allottees towards their allotted

land after the quasi-permanent allotment and, therefore, a change in the purposes for which loans were taken. Under the temporary allotment scheme, the allottees had only temporary interest in their allotments, and were not, therefore, prepared to avail themselves of the loans which were meant for making permanent improvements in land or houses. Though loans for the repair of houses and wells were available during the two years preceding the quasi-permanent allotment, only Rs. 33 thousand and Rs. 6 thousand, respectively, were accepted as compared with Rs. 44 lakhs and 17 lakhs drawn after the quasi-permanent allotment. Other loans, however, which were not in the nature of a permanent investment were a fairly constant feature of both the periods. Thus, while Rs. 54 lakhs were advanced for the purchase of bullocks before the quasi-permanent allotment, Rs. 56 lakhs were advanced after the allotment work was over. Similarly, the figures for seed for the two periods are Rs. 64 lakhs and Rs. 41 lakhs, respectively. Again, while loans for food and fodder were discontinued after the quasi-permanent allotment of land, loans for heavy agricultural machinery like tractors, water pumps and tube-wells, naturally began only after conferment of quasi-permanent rights. No landholder can be expected to set up a tube-well or a water pump on a temporarily allotted holding. Tractors were out of question for small allotments of 10 acres given during the temporary allotment phase. We will now discuss these loans item-wise.

FOOD LOANS

Before the quasi-permanent allotment of land, the largest single loan item was for purchase of food. This loan was given to displaced persons when they left the relief camps and settled in villages. The crops sown by them had to mature after six months, and the refugee farmers were to be fed during that period. They were, therefore, given monthly food allowances for every member of the family. Revenue officers visited the villages and distributed these loans on the spot. The rate was Rs. 3|8|- per adult and Rs. 2|- per child per mensem. The problem, however, was not wholly solved by giving cash allowances. Because of the

dislocation of agricultural economy of the State, there was very little food available in the villages which loanees could buy. Under these scarcity conditions the object of the food loans would have been defeated if food supplies had not been made available. The Department of Food and Civil Supplies was, therefore, required to open retail food shops in selected villages for the supply of wheat to displaced persons. The scheme proved successful, and attracted rural people from the relief camps to the villages, which were the real place for them to live in. Rs. 82 lakhs were disbursed uptill 1949. In 1950, when conditions improved and people were able to stand on their legs, the grant of food loans was discontinued.

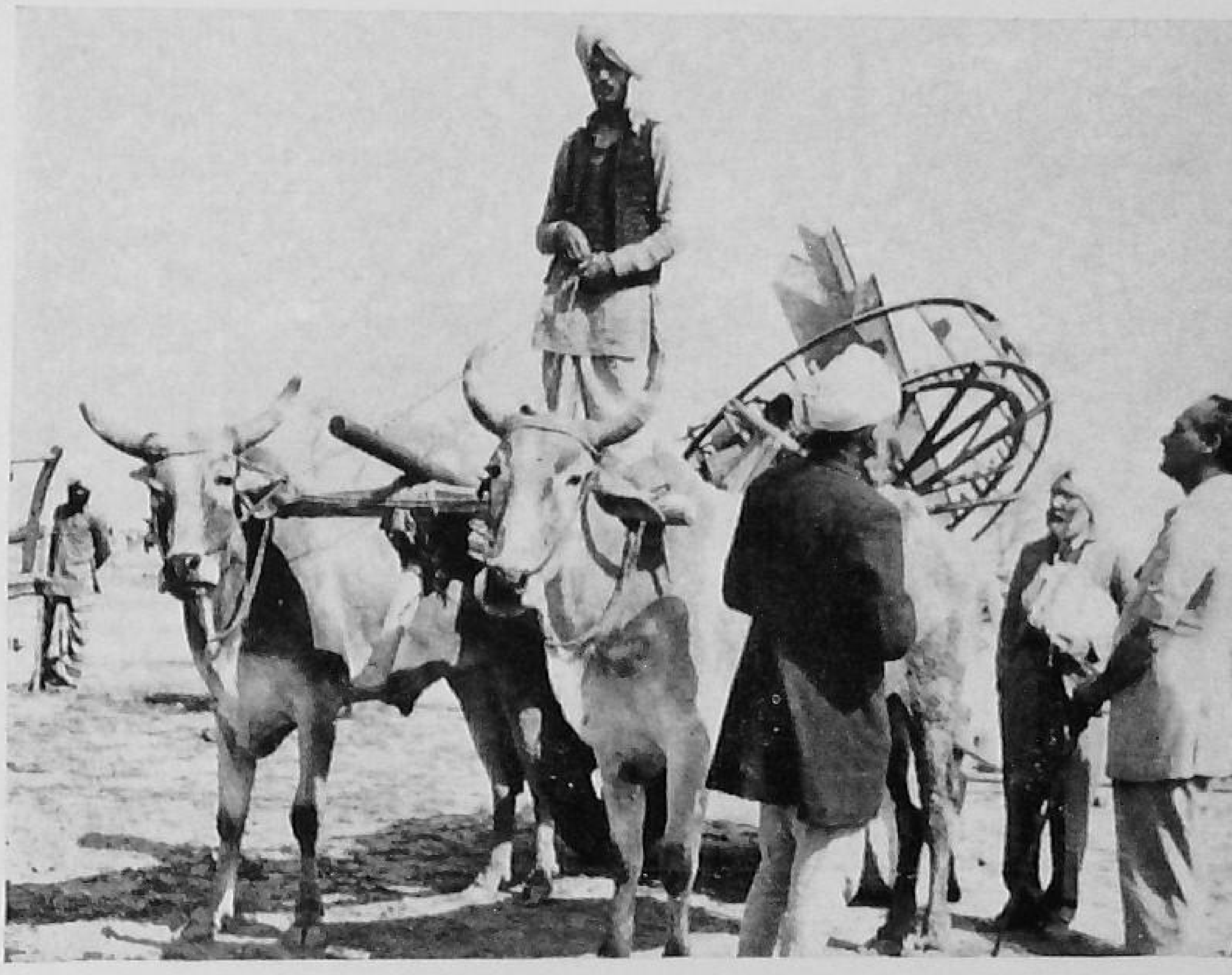
FODDER

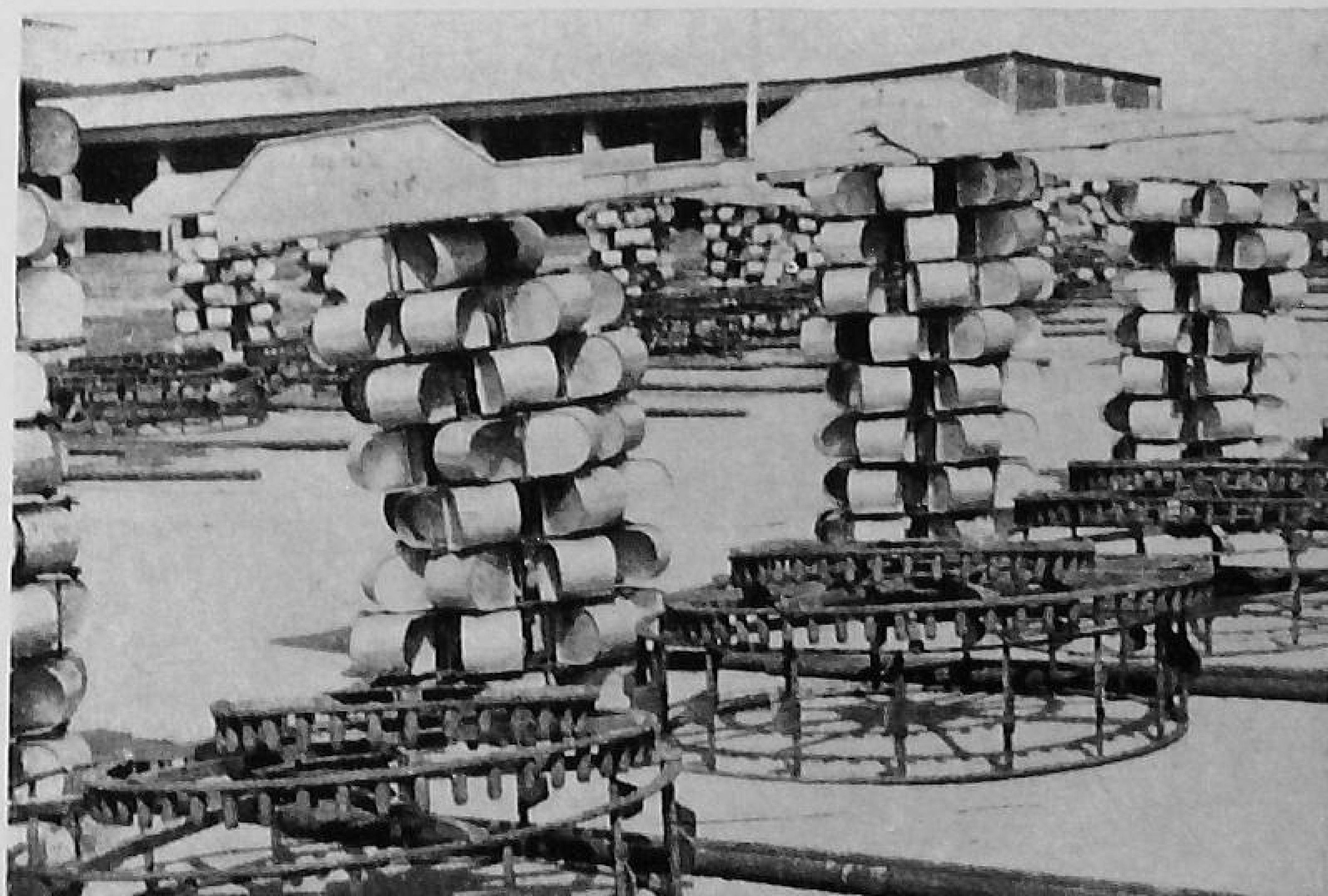
Financial assistance for purchase of fodder for animals was also not neglected. Eight and a half lakh rupees were distributed during 1947-49 as taccavi loans for fodder. The rate of this taccavi was Rs. 20|- per month. Like food, there was scarcity of fodder also, particularly in the Ambala Division. In order to meet this situation, it was found necessary to import large quantities of fodder from other provinces. An officer of the Agricultural Department was appointed as Fodder Adviser to Punjab Government to arrange for the import of fodder. Fodder dumps were opened in several districts. But unfortunately, this import scheme did not work well as there was great delay in the transport of fodder due to difficulties in obtaining priorities. Besides, the position of fodder improved with the harvesting of Rabi, 1948, and prices returned to normal.

BULLOCKS

The greatest need of a cultivator is a pair of bullocks. Bullocks were essential for his rehabilitation, and could be purchased only with financial assistance from Government. Naturally enough, about one-fourth of the total amount distributed till 1950-51 (one crore 10 lakh rupees) has gone to finance the purchase of bullocks. In dry districts like Hissar and Gurgaon, where cultivation is carried on with the aid of camels, loans were given for the purchase of camels

Loans in kind. Agricultural implements, persian wheels, cane crushers, and chaff cutters were manufactured in thousands and distributed among the land allottees.





instead of bullocks. There have been few instances of misuse of this taccavi, partly because the purchased animal had to be produced before a Tahsildar for inspection and branding, and partly because the need for bullocks was so urgent and genuine. There is still a great demand for more loans for this purpose. In fact the lack of bullocks is the most powerful single factor hampering full rehabilitation. Not to speak of the bigger allottees, even some small allottees, who would very much like to cultivate their holdings themselves, have been forced to let out their allotments to tenants because they have not got any bullocks.

SEED

Ordinarily a peasant farmer uses for seed savings of the previous year's produce. The displaced persons, however, had no such savings. They were, therefore, given loans for purchasing seed. In addition, the Department of Agriculture was required to start seed depots in selected villages, where good quality seed could be made available to displaced persons. Loans for the purchase of seed were not given in cash. Permits were issued to loanees to buy seed from seed depots, and the amount loaned was debited to their account. This arrangement proved most successful, and loans to the extent of Rs. 68 lakhs were advanced for the purchase of seed till 1950-51.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS

There was a great dearth of agricultural implements in the market. Arrangements were, therefore, made with the Department of Agriculture for the manufacture and supply of chaff-cutters, sugarcane crushers, and well-gears, at controlled prices. These implements were manufactured by fabricators, and were approved and stamped by the Department of Agriculture, before these were made available for distribution amongst displaced persons. These manufactured implements were then transported to tehsil offices according to the requirements of each tehsil. Agricultural fairs were organised at the headquarters of all tehsils in the Punjab in March, 1950, for the distribution of these. On the day of the fair the implements and machinery

that was to be distributed in that tehsil was piled up at the tehsil office. The loanees, who had been notified of the date in advance, came to the fair, received their requirements, and carted them to their homes. This system had some advantage over the old system under which the rehabilitation official travelled from village to village with a cash box, and handed out lump sums of money to displaced persons to be spent anyhow. The advantages were incorruptibility and speed. The entire benefit reached the loanee, and there were no wayside bites on the financial assistance that the Government wanted to give him. Also, the administration was able to dispose of all work in the tehsil in a day or two.

LOANS FOR RURAL ARTISANS

The partition of the Punjab dislocated the economy of the villages to a great extent. The countryside had been denuded of a large proportion of its artisans and village servants. Government, therefore, decided to afford financial assistance to displaced rural artisans for their rehabilitation in villages. A sum of Rs. 6,91,000|- was advanced as loans to rural artisans from 1947-48 to 1949-50.

DAMAGE TO HOUSES AND WELLS

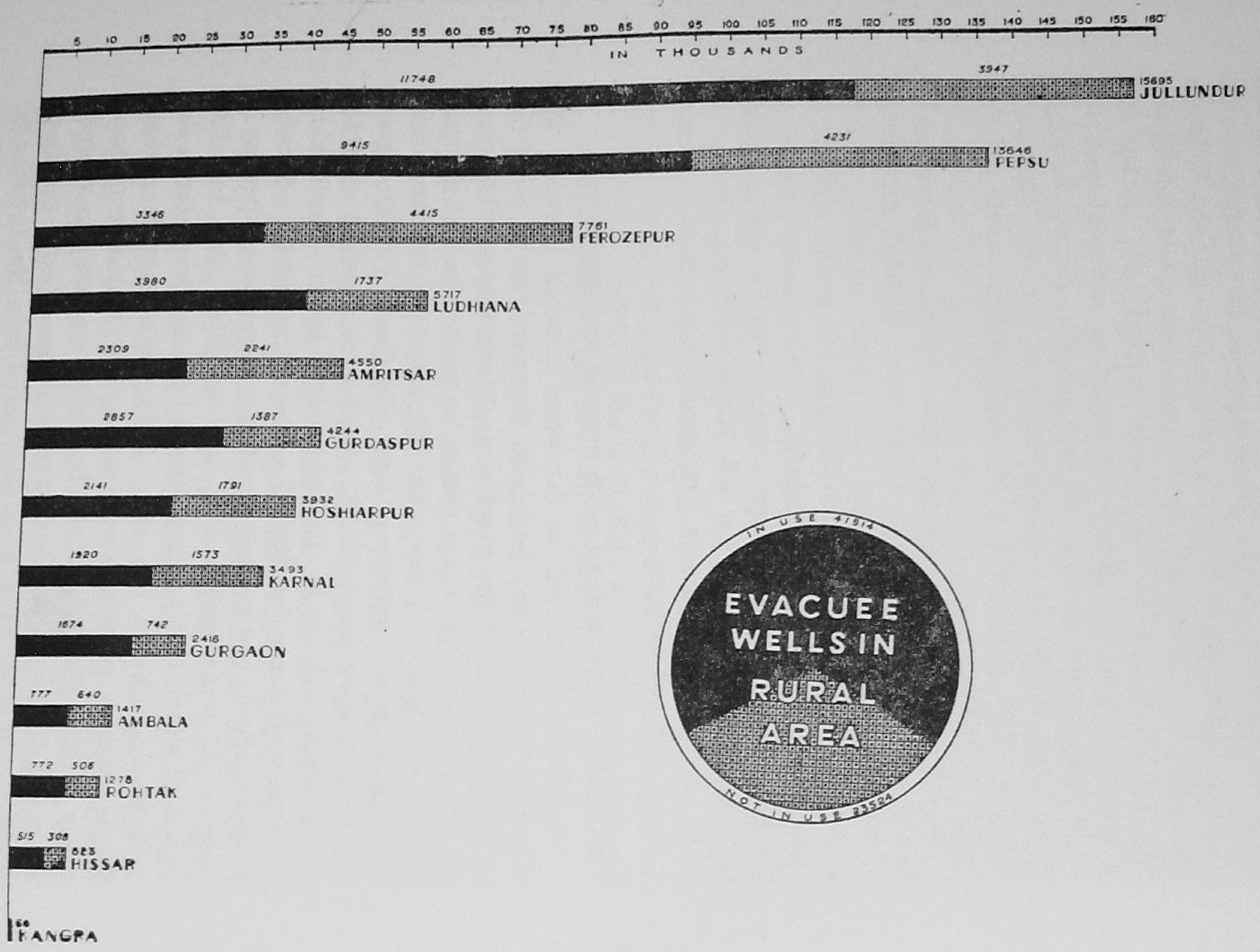
In the post-partition confusion, wells and houses suffered a good deal of damage. For several weeks they belonged to nobody in particular, but were at the mercy of anybody who wanted to lay hands on them. Even when they were allotted to displaced persons, the allotment was on a temporary basis. And who would take a loan to repair a house or a well which he is to leave after a few months. Sixteen months after the partition, when a census was taken, it was found that 34 per cent of evacuee houses in East Punjab were damaged beyond repair: and only 47 per cent were intact. Of the wells left by evacuees, 62 per cent were in working order, 36 per cent stood in need of well gear, and 12 per cent needed repair of masonry as well as new well-gear. Loan schemes introduced before the quasi-permanent allotment for the repair of houses or wells, therefore, failed, and very few persons came forward to take loans. During

the year 1947-48, Rs. 33 thousand and Rs. six thousand only were distributed as loans for the repair of houses and wells respectively. In the following year, however, a scheme of free grants was introduced, and Rs. one lakh and 80 thousand and Rs. three lakhs 25 thousand were distributed for the repair of wells and houses respectively. After the quasi-permanent allotment the situation changed, and Rs. eight lakhs were distributed as loans and Rs. six lakhs as grants for repair and construction of houses. Similarly, Rs. one lakh and seventy thousand were loaned for the repair of wells.

In 1950, East Punjab was visited by an extraordinarily heavy monsoon. Riverain areas were flooded, and large areas remained under water for weeks together. Rains and floods caused extensive damage to kacha houses in Jullundur Division particularly. Government came to the help of the sufferers with a scheme for loans and grants for repairing houses. Rs. 35 lakhs were distributed as loans, and Rs. 13 lakhs as free grants for repair of houses in flood-affected villages.

TRACTORS, TUBE WELLS, AND POWER WATER PUMPS

The loans mentioned so far were directed towards the effort to replace what had been damaged, or to meet the immediate needs of the resettlers. There was another class of loans which indicate a desire to modernize the agriculture of the State. These were the loans for tractors, tube wells, and power pumping sets. Of the 37,70,000 rupees given as tractor loans, Rs. 32 lakhs were given to allottees of riverain and *banjar* (uncultivated) areas. Rs. 5 lakhs 70 thousand were distributed as loans for boring of wells, preparatory to the setting up of the power water-pumps in them. A water-pump was useless if it was installed in a well which had not been bored because the water in the well would exhaust too soon, and often the well cracked. These western machines were not entirely unknown in rural areas of East Punjab before, but were used only in villages near the towns or on Government farms. As a result of these loans they have now penetrated into the interior of the countryside. The significance of this development does



5 10 15 20 25 30 35 40 45 50 55 60 65 70 75 80 85 90 95 100 105 110 115 120 125 130 135 140 145 150 155 160
IN THOUSANDS
11748 3947 15695 JULLUNDUR
9415 4231 13646 PEPSU
3346 4415 7761 FEROZEPUR
3980 1737 5717 LUDHIANA
2309 2241 4550 AMRITSAR
2857 1387 4244 GURDASPUR
2141 1791 3932 HOSHIARPUR
1920 1573 3493 KARNAL
1674 742 2416 GURGAON
777 640 1417 AMBALA
772 506 1278 ROHTAK
515 308 823 HISSAR
66 KANGRA
EVACUEE WELLS IN RURAL AREA
IN USE 41514
NOT IN USE 23524

not lie in their numbers but in the demonstrative and pioneering role of these machines. They are working in remote villages for anybody living around to come and see and understand them, and then decide for himself whether he would himself like to have one. This is the way where rural progress lies. There are 2937 power pumping sets, 400 tractors, and 120 tube wells, humming in the countryside of the State as a result of these loans. This is not a large number. But this sprinkling is thick enough to serve as leaven. A farmer who is inclined towards any of these machines knows at least where he can see one at work on the kind of soil as his own, and can talk to its owner in language which is intelligible to both. If these machines prove a success their use will automatically expand.

MODERNISING AGRICULTURE

The greatest contribution of Rural Loans Scheme lies in the stimulus it provided to the modernisation of agriculture in East Punjab. A tractor was a rare sight in the countryside of the eastern districts. Now tractors can be seen on the roads as well as in the farms in the districts of Karnal, Ferozepore, and Ludhiana. The present high prices of agricultural produce have made the use of tractors and tube wells an economic proposition. Facilities for supply of spares and service are being provided by some of the dealers, and with increase in the number of tractors in use it would be possible for them to set up service stations at convenient points. Some of the tractor owners are also combining into co-operative societies for the purpose of obtaining fuel supplies. This is a welcome move which will save them from black market prices, as well as from the malpractices of adultration of fuel oils. The modernisation of agriculture, which the Department of Rehabilitation has brought about, is an achievement to be proud of. Land in the riverain areas, which was ineffectively cultivated, has now been conquered. Experience has shown that the farmer in the riverain has to carry on an unceasing battle with grass which spreads and checks the growth of cultivated plants. After the departure of Muslims, large areas in the riverain got covered with reeds and tall grasses on account

of neglect of cultivation. Tractors are required not only for reclaiming such areas but also for keeping them under cultivation. Only tractor cultivation can conquer the grass of the riverain. The Muslims, who inhabited the riverain areas were traditionally poor. Apart from periodic floods which washed away their houses, it was the grass which defeated all their efforts at cultivation. Only tractor cultivation will conquer for man the riverain area which has so far remained an agricultural slum. Similarly, there were considerable areas covered with trees and bushes in Karnal district, which had been lying uncultivated for ages. There also the tractor has come to the help of the farmer. With the aid of tractors he has been able to reclaim and to bring under cultivation large areas.

Mechanisation of cultivation lessens the drudgery of farming. It will thus attract to the village sons of middle class farmers, who have received college education. It is hoped that these educated farmers will be a powerful force towards the improvement of agriculture and rural life in East Punjab.

STATEMENT SHOWING DISTRIBUTION OF TACCAVI LOANS. (Progress upto 31st March, 1951)

Kind of Loans or Grants	Before quasi-permanent allotment				After quasi-permanent allotment			Grand Total
	During 1947-48	During 1948-49	During 1949-50	Total	During 1949-50	During 1950-51	Total	
1. Food ..	19,79,204	59,74,762	30,12,218	82,55,184	—	—	—	82,551,184
2. Rural Artisans ..	26,375	5,33,690	31,350	5,91,415	—	—	—	5,91,415
3. Fodder ..	7,97,177	55,082	—	8,52,259	—	—	—	8,52,259
4. Seed ..	17,92,267	37,53,744	8,37,671	63,83,682	—	4,14,452	4,14,452	67,98,134
5. Bullocks ..	30,66,262	23,90,362	—	54,56,264	9,29,557	46,94,092	56,23,559	110,80,183
6. Implements ..	—	9,61,731	—	9,61,731	3,92,833	50,530	4,43,363	14,05,094
7. Repair of wells ..	5,800	—	—	5,800	—	1,69,404	1,69,404	1,75,204
8. Persian wheels ..	—	—	—	—	5,52,651	8,55,789	14,08,440	14,08,440
9. Tube wells ..	—	—	—	—	—	3,55,000	3,55,000	3,55,000
10. Water Pumps ..	—	—	—	—	12,78,000	9,41,500	22,19,500	22,19,500
11. Boring of Wells ..	—	—	—	—	—	5,69,900	5,69,900	5,69,900
12. Tractors ..	—	—	—	—	—	5,69,200	5,69,200	5,69,200
13. Repair & Construction of Houses ..	33,020	—	—	33,020	97,341	7,04,065	8,01,406	83,44,26
14. Repair of Houses in flood affected areas ..	—	—	—	—	—	35,15,094	35,15,094	35,15,094
15. Tubewells in garden colonies ..	—	—	—	—	7,50,000	—	7,50,000	7,50,000
16. Arric. Machinery, in G. colonies ..	—	—	—	—	2,50,000	—	2,50,000	2,50,000
TOTAL LOANS:	77,00,105	136,69,371	11,70,239	225,39,715	42,50,382	128,38,936	170,89,318	396,29,033
1. **Grants for** repair of wells.	—	1,77,721	—	1,77,721	—	—	—	1,77,721
2. Grants for repair of houses ..	—	3,23,675	—	3,23,675	—	5,94,905	5,94,905	9,18,580
3. Grants for repair of houses in flood affected villages ..	—	—	—	—	—	5,18,220	5,18,220	5,18,220
4. Grants for demarcation of layouts ..	—	—	—	—	—	13,00,000	13,00,000	13,00,000
Grand Total	—	5,01,396	—	5,01,396		24,13,125	24,13,125	28,14,521

CHAPTER 15

NEW PATTERNS IN FARMING

THE cataclysm of partition shook the rural economy of the Punjab to its foundations. It also gave a rough jolt to the concept of private ownership of property. Those who owned hundreds of acres of land suddenly found themselves in queues with owners of few acres, and even with their erstwhile tenants. The scheme of temporary allotments of land in which no distinction was made between the proprietors and non-proprietors further added to the worries of the proprietors. They were apprehensive that under a socialistic impulse which ignored the conditions prevailing in the Punjab, Government might freeze the pattern of 10-acre allotments. The discontentment and increasing assertiveness among the tenants also gave a fright to the landowners, who were accustomed to crop-sharing and absenteeism. The slogan for the abolition of zamindari raised by tenants in feudal states like the U. P., was readily adopted by the urbanites of East Punjab, who themselves did not own any land, and this also disturbed the equanimity of the refugee landowners. All these factors combined together, had a healthy effect on the rural economy, on the whole, and a fairly large section of the white-clad section of the landowners shook off lethargy and interested itself in agriculture. The keenness it has shown in adopting innovations such as pumping sets and tractors is a good augury for the future.

While farming on individual basis still remains common, new patterns which require co-operation in varying degrees, can also be seen in evacuee villages. Loans for tractors and tube-wells have encouraged formation of small cooperative groups, in most cases consisting of relations or friends. In her effort to improve her agriculture, India can benefit from the experience of other

countries in which holdings are small such as Japan and Israel. Schemes which may have worked successfully in countries like the U. S. A. and U. S. S. R., where climatic and other conditions are different, may not work successfully here. These are countries with vast belts of land which are still to be brought under cultivation. India on the other hand has a teeming population, multiplying at an alarming rate, which is already pressing hard on the limited resources of land. She must find a solution of her problems according to conditions prevailing. Now let us examine the various schemes for re-organization of agriculture which have been advocated for adoption.

JOINT VILLAGE MANAGEMENT SCHEME

Joint Village Management Scheme has been advocated as one of the solutions for re-organizing agriculture on a rationalized basis. According to S. Tarlok Singh, the author of the Scheme, "Joint Village Management is the most concrete and immediately practical form in which we can at present express the general idea of cooperative farming." A part of the cultivable area of the village is to be set apart for fruit-gardening or vegetable farming, and is to be worked jointly, and the remaining area is to be divided into suitable work units. The words 'Joint Management' connote a system in which the claims of ownership are respected but owners pool their land for the purpose of management. Income from land divides into two parts: income due to work, and income due to ownership. Those owners of land who cultivate land will be entitled to "ownership dividend" as well as "work income", while those who do not cultivate will be only entitled to "ownership dividend". Land, which term also includes wells, trees etc., will together represent the total contribution of each owner of the Farm on the basis of which he will get his ownership dividend. After the valuation has taken place, details of individual holdings will cease to matter altogether. Having valued land, the next step is to divide the area of the village into suitable work units of estimated equal productivity. A unit of work has been defined as the area which can be cultivated by one worker assisted by a family of average

size with the aid of a plough and a pair of bullocks, and is equivalent to about 10 to 12 acres of irrigated land. When allotting work units, preference is suggested for peasant proprietors who wish to work in the village, while others will be considered only if surplus units are available. However, when mechanized techniques come to be adopted according to the authors of the Scheme the distinction between peasant owner workers and others will vanish. As the area of land available is much less compared with the number of workers, a fairly large proportion which would become surplus would require new avocations. It has been estimated that about 50.5 millions, or 28% of the potential male agricultural workers, would need new work and fresh avocation if we are to have just about the right number of men and no more on land. Hence it is a necessary condition of rural progress that the scope for employment outside the village should increase "pari passu" with re-organization in the village to such an extent that there is a steady and continuous movement of population from village to town where they would be absorbed in industry.

In essence, the Joint Village Management Scheme amounts to introduction of the business principle of Joint Stock Companies in rural economy coupled with rationalization of agriculture. Let us examine the Scheme by the test of practicability. The scheme is based on the presumption that there will be rapid industrialization of the country which will absorb the population which is surplus to the requirements of agriculture in the rural area. It is likely that the tempo of industrialization will increase with consummation of the multi-purpose power schemes, but there is little likelihood of absorption of 50 million people in industry in the foreseeable future. Even if there is industrial progress at this rate, the wisdom of snapping the links of the workers with rural areas is questionable. Ownership of a small piece of land in the village, even if it is uneconomic, is not only an insurance against periods of unemployment but invigorates human beings by bringing to them the joy of life in the open fields and by bringing them in contact with the elements of Nature, earth,

vegetation, rain, and sunshine. The scheme ignores the spiritual side of the ownership of land, which a peasant who owns a piece of land alone can appreciate. The attachment of the peasant to his plot of land is deep; and to expect that he will merge his holding in a pool of work units and thus cease to know where his particular plot of land is situated amounts to closing one's eyes to reality. The major defect in the Scheme is that it ignores the conditions in villages where individualism reigns supreme, and pays little consideration to the human factor. Besides, the picture of rural economy has been over-simplified, and the fact that the cultivating and non-cultivating sectors of the population overlap and change places from time to time is also ignored.

Under the scheme of Joint Management it is proposed that the implements and bullocks owned by the proprietors of land and tenants would be pooled under the auspices of the cooperative society. Apart from the difficulty of bringing together a hetrogeneous mass of human beings, such as absentee proprietors of land, self-cultivating proprietors, tenants, and landless labourers etc., it would involve a complicated system of account keeping. The scheme was given a trial on a small scale under the temporary allotment of evacuee land. Blocks of land were allotted jointly to groups of displaced agriculturists. In a number of cases quarrels developed among the groups who failed to cooperate, and substantial areas which would have been cultivated otherwise were left uncultivated. In some cases the leaders of the groups misappropriated the entire produce, depriving members of the group of their shares. Difficulties were experienced even in realization of land revenue and other dues. Apart from fall in production of agricultural commodities, the group allotment scheme created complications; and the revenue staff had to spend a good deal of time in settling their quarrels.

Only a scheme which has popular approval in the sense of acceptance by the majority of the population in rural area which is engaged in agriculture can be successful in the East Punjab. The Punjabi farmer is a hard-headed realist, who is more conscious of his rights and knows what is good

for him than the theorists would like him to believe. That the scheme of Joint Management has failed to win followers in villages in the East Punjab itself shows that it has an element of unreality. However, it would be wrong to condemn the scheme merely on such considerations. As they say, the proof of the pudding is in the eating; and an ounce of practice is worth a ton of theory. In all fairness the scheme should be given a trial on a pilot basis in a group of villages. East Punjab has become a laboratory for trial of new ideas and schemes; and a trial of the scheme in the field would reveal its merits or demerits.

GARDEN COLONY CO-OPERATIVES

A scheme which can combine the advantages of cooperation, and at the same time allow full scope for individual initiative can be a success under the present conditions in East Punjab. The Garden Colony Scheme is a scheme of this type. Cooperation has been enforced where it is remunerative—such as irrigation from common tube-wells, cultivation of nursery plants of pedigree stock, factories for fruit preservation, and cold storage and cooperative marketing of fruits, dairy products, and vegetables etc.

CO-OPERATIVE FARMING

Another cooperative farming experiment which deserves notice is the Sewa Nagar Refugee Farmers Co-operative. About 16 miles from Jullundur on the Grand Trunk Road off Phagwara, 33 families of displaced landholders have started a rare and bold social and agricultural experiment in an evacuee village, Parwa, which they have renamed as Sewa Nagar. These families are from four adjacent villages in Jaranwala tahsil of Lyallpur district in West Punjab. Under the leadership of two political workers, Boota Singh and Bakhshish Singh, they combined in the form of a co-operative group, and requested for allotment together. This request was accepted by the Rehabilitation Department, and only one allotment order for the entire village was made out in the names of all the members of the group without defining their individual fields. This means that although each member on the basis of his holding in West Punjab

knows the extent of his share in the common pool, he cannot claim any specific fields as belonging to him.

There is no term which has been more vaguely used and for which so many fanciful advantages have been claimed as for the term 'Co-operative'. It has been regarded as a panacea for all the ills of society, a magic-wand which will dispel poverty. So far we have been accustomed to Consumers' Cooperatives; but efforts were also made to launch Shopkeepers' Cooperatives, Lawyers' Cooperatives etc. In farming also many types of cooperatives have been given a trial. While no magical results can be claimed, at least it has been established that there are some operations which are more economical when performed collectively than on an individual basis, e.g. tractor cultivation, tube-well irrigation and cooperative buying and selling of commodities. Moreover as Mr. Calvert states, "State assistance to agricultural community is co-operatively organised than where it remains in a condition of dominant individualism and if for no other reason, the State would be justified in assisting the growth of agricultural co-operation by which it will be enabled the more effectively to promote its educational and other services".

The term "Co-operative Farming" has been defined in the memorandum of the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research on the 'Development of Agriculture and Animal Husbandry in India' as follows:—"Each cultivator would retain the rights of his own land but cultivation operations would be carried on jointly. The expenditure would be met from a common fund and deducted from the growers' incomes. The net income would then be distributed among the cultivators in proportion to the land belonging to each". It is on this basis that cooperative farming is being conducted in Sewa Nagar. The total area of the village is 800 acres of fertile alluvial land irrigated by wells. The members of the group pooled their financial resources, including ornaments of women, and thus collected about Rs. 37000|-. With this money they purchased three diesel pumping sets and 11 pairs of bullocks. The number of bullocks which have been purchased is about 1/8th of the normal requirements, and the cooperative society has gone in for a tractor

for which a loan was advanced by the Pepsu Government.

All the able-bodied men work in the fields, and jobs are assigned to each by the President of the Society. An attendance register is maintained in which the labour days put in by each worker are noted. The milch cattle, horses, and bullocks are regarded as common property, and a large-size cattle shed has been constructed to accommodate them. A common kitchen is maintained, and women from each family take their turns at cooking. At the sound of a gong meals are served, and rough wooden tables and benches are provided for dinners. Medical aid and education for children are provided by the Society out of its funds.

The housing situation in the village is desperate, as in most of the evacuee villages; and nearly all the kacha houses are in ruins. A pucca house has been repaired, and serves as a grain godown.

What made these families to join in this venture? The leaders of the group state that the shock of partition brought them together, and broke the bonds of peasant individualism. Sewa Nagar is a rare and bold experiment which appears like an oasis in the desert of individualism. Cooperation is an uphill task and a number of such ventures have foundered on the rock of individualism and mutual jealousies. So far the leaders of group have been able to hold the members together. One of their difficulties is in enforcing prohibition and weaning the younger members from drink. In spite of prohibition, occasional lapses do occur.

Human factor in the functioning of a cooperative is as important as anywhere else. Those who form a cooperative must be hard-working and industriousness is a rare virtue in our country, where so many would rather wag their tongues than move their hands. Unless honest hard work is encouraged it is feared that most of the cooperatives which have been launched with so much fan-fare will degenerate into a lotus-eaters paradise. So far Sewa Nagar has proved an exception, and the main reason of its success is that nearly all the partners are able bodied farmers for whom work is joy. At this stage it would be pre-

mature to form an opinion about the soundness of this venture, which has been started under exceptionally favourable circumstances. However, it is an experiment which will be watched with interest by all progressive farmers of India.

CO-OPERATIVE STORES

There is another direction in which co-operation can yield fruit-ful results. This is in opening co-operative stores in the rural area. So far activities of the Co-operative Department in most of the States have remained confined to lending of money at a comparatively low rate of interest to farmers for expenditure on objects which are considered to be productive, such as purchase of bullocks, and farm implements etc. When the co-operative movement was launched in the Punjab by the pioneers like Calvert and Darling, the farmer was heavily indebted and the main object of the movement was to save the agriculturist from the clutches of the money-lender. Since the 2nd World War, high prices of agricultural commodities, supplemented by the efforts of the Government-sponsored cooperative money-lending agency, have solved the problem of the agriculturist's indebtedness to a large extent. It is high time that co-operation is now extended to other phases of the life of the farmer. One of the promising fields for the extension of cooperation lies in the opening of cooperative stores in villages. At present the needs of the villagers are met by a class of shopkeepers engaged in petty trade, who get the articles required by the villagers from the nearest towns and sell them to the villagers on cash or credit basis. These shopkeepers take advantage of the illiteracy and ignorance of the villagers, and their presence in the villages is by no means an unmixed blessing. Their business methods are not straight, particularly in their dealings with women and children. In some of the villages the number of shopkeepers is much in excess of the requirements, and consequently the shopkeepers are not fully employed. The excessive number of petty shopkeepers is one of the evils which is crippling the economy of the country. Presence of too many middle-men who eke out their liveli-

hood from the transfer of goods from the producer to the consumer is not a sign of health for a country. Large number of these shopkeepers have little business, and spend most of their time chasing flies. Excessive number of shopkeepers is a waste of national economic resources. Thus writes Mr. Calvert about the village shopkeepers in the United Punjab in 1936 "Besides the 59,000 money-lenders with which the province is burdened, there are nearly one million people supported by petty trading. The number of small shops is excessive, with the result that there is not a decent living for all engaged. There are some 200,000 workers in the small "nun tel" shops of the villages. The waste of human labour here is great, and yet there is little tendency towards the multiple store. The figure suggests the amount of intelligence wasted which should be diverted to industrial pursuits where skill is required. The number engaged in selling cloth nearly doubled in ten years."

From the larger national interest the shopkeepers who are surplus to the requirements of rural life should be converted into productive workers. The solution of the problem lies in starting co-operative stores in villages for the marketing of agricultural produce, seed, implements, and fertilizers, and for providing the villagers articles of daily necessity, such as, salt, sugar, kerosene oil, and cloth etc. There is need of organising a chain of stores from the village to the State headquarters. The central store to replenish the District Store, and the District Store to replenish the Village Cooperative Store. To run the stores efficiently there will be need of accountants, and men with commercial qualifications and experience. Here will be an opportunity for the educated sons of village shopkeepers, who will thus get usefully employed and absorbed in the village economy. The accountant of the Store will maintain a ledger of each individual buyer. At the end of every year the profits from the Store, after meeting the expenditure, will be distributed among the members in proportion to the goods purchased by them. Out of the profits, a certain percentage can be earmarked for village development, such as paving of streets, parapeting of wells, and a certain percentage can be kept in reserve.

For executing a bold experiment in agricultural reorganization there are two requisites: sound planning on the part of the Government, and enthusiasm on the part of the population. It is only through sound planning in advance that the enthusiasm of the people can be canalized into a constructive effort, and results can be achieved. In execution of a plan emotions of the people must be stirred, and they must be inspired by propaganda to work hard and to co-operate with Government in a great constructive effort.

On the other hand the picture which we see in India is rather depressing. Recording her impressions of a visit to Israel and India in 1950 Mrs. Frances Gunther writes:—

> "Against great odds, India is working on the gigantic job of setting its great house in order and organizing its independence. Compared to Israel it has the overwhelming advantage of its vast territory and enormous natural resources, but the serious disadvantage of a vast population not yet aware of the individual duties and responsibilities of free citizenship. The weight of this vast inert mass lies heavily upon the few who shoulder the burden of government retarding its slow progress".

This is a correct diagnosis of the malady from which India is suffering, and while the inertia of the masses should be overcome, the administrative machinery should also be geared to top efficiency. No doubt the senior officials and the top leaders work exceedingly hard, but the officials in the lower ranks have slackened and the large mass of population remains a passive spectator, and instead of working hard, finds a sadistic pleasure in blaming the government for all the discomforts and inconveniences of life. It was in 1945 that the Famine Commission urged the need of dynamic qualities in administrators who are accustomed only to the regimented routine of the British administrative machinery, which was suitable for normal times when problems were few. Urging the need of a new spirit in administration the Famine Commission observed:—

"At present all governments are preparing plans of reconstruction and development in the post-war period. A new spirit and a new determination are abroad. But it is

one thing to draw up plans, another to carry them out. A great responsibility rests on government, administrators and government servants of all grades in organizing and stimulating the work of 'nation building'. The duties of modern governments extend far beyond the maintenance of law and order, they include within their compass social and economic development in all its aspects. To build a new India dynamic rather than static qualities on the part of the administrations are required. Governments permeated by the ideas expressed in the aphorisms 'safety first' and 'after us the deluge' are inevitably stagnant and can achieve little or nothing. There is need, too, for a change of tempo; to use a familiar phrase, the future pace of progress must be that of the motor car rather than that of the bullock cart. If administrations approach their duties in this spirit, we feel that the people as a whole will respond and co-operate in the work of development".

Dynamism in administration is more needed now when the country is facing acute problems of food shortages and refugee rehabilitation. Vacillation on the part of administrators, habit of postponing decisions, shirking of responsibility, procrastination, and lack of integrity, are the besetting sins of administration; and our efforts should be aimed in the direction of encouraging boldness, capacity and ability to think clearly and to act quickly among the personnel of the administrative services.

Now what about the people? How can we overcome their inertia? The people must be associated with development work initiated by the Government. Drives and Weeks must be organized in the country-side as well as in the urban areas, such as Celebrations of Tree Planting Weeks, Literacy Weeks, and Cultural Festivals. Labour Camps should be established, so that the tradition of "Babuism" is killed and our youngmen realize the dignity of manual labour. The farmer should be respected and honoured for, after all, it is he who is the pivot of the economy of the country, and it is from the surplus of his labour that the white-clothed section of the community derives sustenance. It is not only lack of amenities of life in villages which discourage young-men from adopting agriculture as a profes-

sion, but the feeling that farming is not a respectable enough profession for educated and intelligent people. A Kanungo or Sub Inspector of Police is shown more respect as compared with an owner of a large farm. The only cure for the inferiority complex from which the educated sons of farmers suffer is that the producers of agricultural commodities should be honoured by the State, and encouraged by Government machinery.

"KIBBUTZ" CO-OPERATIVE FARMS IN ISRAEL

If religious fervour can be stirred for social good and people are roused to emotional frenzy, they can carry burdens which would otherwise break their backs. People can be roused to emotional frenzy if they have hopes of material advancement, but the inspiration for work must be spiritual. The Jews of Israel who have launched bold experiments in cooperative farming were enthused by the dream of building a national home, and as they were surrounded by a hostile Arab World, they put in super-human effort to make their experiment in agricultural reorganization a success. Describing her visit to Israel, Mrs. Frances Gunther writes, "Of course, I had heard of development in agriculture and industry, the increase in population, the waves of immigration, the spread of cooperatives and new villages, the growth of cities. Nevertheless, I was staggered by the almost visibly vibrating vitality emanating from everybody everywhere." What is the source of this vitality? Hardships and dangers which sharpen the struggle for existence also strengthen the will to survive and to conquer. It is thus that Sir Arthus Wanchope describes the vicissitudes of life in a Kibbutz and its birth pangs. "When the community is first formed, the hardships are great, the labour severe, and as far luxury or comfort, there is little or none. The settlers live not to be sheltered from dangers, but to be fearless in facing them. Hardship is their garment, but constancy their shield. Their manner of living compels them to bear and forbear. The sacrifice of personal wealth, the surrender of personal possessions having once been made, then all must of necessity work, and their children be taught the need and dignity of labour. There is more

gained than only material advantage. These people are free to form and live up to their own set of values. They are not bound by these shackles that grip many whose chief aim is wealth and great possessions. Freedom of thought is far from leading to anarchy. If it be better to give than to receive, then perhaps more happiness comes from living for the good of the community than for self alone".

CONSOLIDATION OF HOLDINGS

Co-operative farming may be adopted in some villages, but individual family farming is likely to remain the predominant pattern in the rural economy of East Punjab. Co-operative farming is likely to remain a dream of visionaries and idealists for a long time to come. Co-operative farms have been started in a few villages with not too altruistic aims; in some cases such attempts have been made with an eye to publicity and propaganda, and in some cases with the idea of attracting the attention of the officials and to get financial aid from the Government, which is not forthcoming otherwise. Enforcing cooperation in villages is like collecting the proverbial 5 seers of frogs; when you have collected 20 and put them in the pans of the scale 10 leap out, and so it goes on. Even real brothers who are educated find it difficult to co-operate, for the spirit of honest business-like dealings is lacking. Hence if we want to achieve results in the countryside we should adjust our theories to facts as they exist, and not what they ought to be, and we must take note of the needs of individual farmers. Considering the overwhelming majority of small peasant proprietors who form the major sector of the rural population, consolidation of holdings followed by a programme of sinking of percolation wells and tube-wells is the principal need of the densely populated villages of East Punjab, where canal irrigation is not likely to be available. The advantages of consolidation of holdings have been fully appreciated by the proprietors of land, and there is such a keen demand that the present revenue staff cannot cope with the work. Scattered and fragmented holdings result in waste of good deal of land in hedges and paths; sub-soil water cannot be utilized; and fencing of fields becomes an

Consolidation of Holdings opens new vistas of prosperity.

impossibility. To save the fields from depredations of stray cattle and thieves, the farmers entrust the duty of watching crops to their boys instead of sending them to schools. A good deal of bullock power is wasted in transporting agricultural implements from field to field. There is similar waste of labour and bullock power in the transport of manure and crops. Disputes about boundaries, which are encouraged by patwaris, result in waste of money and time of the farmers in litigation. All these evils can be checked if holdings are consolidated. When a village is consolidated, it presents a different look; straight roads are provided, and convenient sites are earmarked for manure pits. The village becomes sanitary, and agricultural production shows marked increase. In fact consolidation of holdings is one of the most effective measures of 'Grow More Food'. On his consolidated block of land the farmer sinks a well and builds a homestead. As the farmer and his cattle live on the farm, the farm-yard manure goes direct to the fields. If the farmers are encouraged to build shelter belts of fruit trees like mangoes and lemons, and of fuel-trees like *kikar* and *shisham*, the problem of saving cow-dung from being used as fuel gets solved, and on account of addition of fruit to their diet the health of the farmer and his family improves. Cultivation of vegetables, keeping of poultry and milch cattle, coupled with intensive cultivation and manuring, further add to the wealth of the farmer. Consolidation of holdings and adoption of mixed farming, a term which includes keeping of milch cattle, poultry, etc., can give a happy and prosperous life to the farmer. Facilities of cooperation can also be extended slowly, to start with by providing irrigation from tube-wells and by introducing tractor cultivation.

INTENSIVE FARMING AND MARKET GARDENING

Intensive farming is already being carried on in the suburban villages of the towns of East Punjab where wells can be sunk. However, vegetable growing and market gardening are relegated to certain castes, such as Sainis, Arains, and Malis. Jats who are the main agricultural tribe of the Punjab, and can be rightly called the vertebral column of

the farming community, whether they are Muslims in the West Punjab or Sikhs or Hindus in the East Punjab, regard market gardening as a contemptible profession. They consider the practice followed by the women-folk of Arains, Sainis and Malis of hawking vegetables in baskets which they carry on their heads from door to door as something infra-dig. This is probably one of the reasons for the stagnation of agriculture in the villages of the East Punjab. The major agricultural tribes mainly practise extensive cultivation, which does involve hard work and is a test of the stamina of the farmer, but does not provide opportunity for close observation of plant life. The cultivation of vegetables and fruit trees under an intensive system of farming, on the contrary, provides opportunities of close study of plants. The farmer learns the value of manuring, application of irrigation at critical time, the structure of flowers, the facts about pollination, the physiology of root pruning and other cultural hints. Farmers who merely grow wheat on canal irrigated land follow a routine in which knowledge of such matters is not regarded as essential. In foreign countries it is market gardening which has made a contribution to the sciences of Agriculture and Horticulture. As Mr. Calvert says, "In England it has been the garden which has shown what could be done in the field; under the Punjab system the field has despised and rejected what the garden could teach". The reduced holdings which have fallen to the lot of the displaced farmers, the shortage in canal-irrigated area are teaching the refugee farmer that his salvation lies in adopting intensive system of farming including market gardening. The hard conditions of life in the East Punjab, and the reduced holdings are conquering the prejudice against vegetable cultivation, and the growing of potatoes, tomatoes, and chillies is increasingly becoming popular in the villages of East Punjab. By raising rich crops of potatoes the Sainis of Rupar have shown that even a farmer who possesses an acre of land can make a living. In countries like Japan, Denmark, Holland, and Belgium, the average holding is small, but the farmers have raised a prosperous system of agriculture by their hard work. As Mr. Calvert observes, "The main

lessons that the Punjab may derive from Belgium are that the smallness of the holdings is not necessarily a bar to prosperity; that enterprise, science, co-operation, capital and painstaking labour will yield a decent living from a small area; but the land must be devoted to those uses which will give the highest returns to human intelligence and skill. In short, if the Punjab peasant is to become really prosperous, he must revolutionize his methods". It is hoped that with the progress of the ambitious scheme of Consolidation of Holdings, which has been launched by the State Government in East Punjab, supplemented by the programme of rural electrification, well sinking on a large scale, and irrigation with the aid of power pumps will be a practical reality, and intensive methods of cultivation will be increasingly adopted.

CHAPTER 16

BRIGHTENING THE VILLAGES

ECONOMISTS and students of rural life deplore the tendency among educated young men from the villages to drift to the towns. As soon as a farmer's boy passes his Matriculation examination he turns his back on the village of his birth, and would rather accept a petty clerical job than engage himself in his ancestral occupation. Why do not educated young men from the rural areas settle down in villages? People who are usually not familiar with living conditions in villages do not realise that life in an average Indian village is incredibly dull and hard. There is so much drudgery in the life of a farmer that he is no better than a galley-slave. There is endless toil in the life of an Indian farmer, and like the proverbial bullock who spends his life looking for a place to die, the toil is only ended when he lies down to die. During the ploughing season from early morning till sunset, with a short break at noon time, he is patiently following his pair of bullocks. Ploughing fields with a bullock-plough is one of the dullest occupations in the world. In the harvest season he spends many hours, even during the hottest part of the day, cutting the crops with his scythe, tying bundles, and carrying the bundles to the thrashing-floor. In the hot month of May, he spends many days treading the grain under the feet of his bullocks. He has to lift heavy bundles of fodder on his head over long distances, and this is a type of drudgery which dulls the faculties and kills all intelligence. He spends many hours cutting fodder for his cattle and in drawing water from the well. In fact farming with bullocks and primitive implements is one of the dreariest occupations in the world. That is why when a farmer's son passes the Matriculation examination he thinks of accepting any job, whether it is in the army or police, or

a low paid clerical job in an office, rather than follow the routine which his ancestors had followed for centuries. Even boys from well-to-do middle-class families, with holdings which can be considered economic from any standard, would rather accept the post of an Assistant Sub Inspector of Police or a Kanungo rather than work on their farms. Thus, the net result of education in rural area has been that villages are being denuded of their intelligentsia, and farming as an occupation has gone into the hands of the least intelligent. This explains the stagnation in agriculture as practised in the villages of India.

MECHANISED FARMING

Mechanised farming with the aid of small tractors, and electrification of rural area, holds out a promise to the Indian cultivator of relieving him of toil and drudgery, and making his life pleasanter and more interesting. Handling of a tractor requires more intelligence as compared with a *desi* plough. The tractor is already becoming increasingly popular, and at the present price-level of agricultural commodities even imported tractors, which are comparatively costly, are being readily purchased by enterprising farmers. With guaranteed spares and facilities for repairs, there is little doubt that tractors will replace the bullock-driven plough in a substantial area in a progressive State like the East Punjab. While the well-to-do farmers, who own more than 100 acres, are purchasing tractors in their individual capacity, even small-holders are combining in groups. There is an over-all shortage in bullock power considering the large areas which are lying uncultivated, and for some time tractors as well as bullocks could continue to work side by side in breaking and reclaiming waste land. The tractors will not only relieve the farmer of toil and drudgery but will also encourage production of more milk. The fodder which will be saved from the bullocks can feed the cows and buffaloes who, apart from milk, will also supply the much-needed organic manure to fertilise the soil.

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

Electrification of farms is already making headway in

the East Punjab as there is sufficient surplus power even from the Mandi Hydro Electric Scheme which remains to be utilised. The Nangal and Bhakra Dams will not only provide irrigation for the thirsty lands in Hissar, Rohtak, Ferozepur, and Pepsu, but will also provide plenty of cheap power to the farmer. As the late Sir Jogindra Singh said, "Alladin had only one Jinnee to help him. We have millions of Jinns in our rivers to help our cultivation." Cheap power, coupled with low-powered motors, can perform diverse jobs on a farm. With the help of an electric motor fitted on a well, the farmer can irrigate his fields. Sinking of tube-wells worked by electricity is increasingly becoming popular, and from large areas the persian wheel is likely to disappear. Pulling water for watering the cattle and for irrigation is one of the most difficult jobs on a farm. It is estimated that a pair of bullocks purchased at an average price of Rs. 1,000|- gets exhausted and dies within two years. Tube-wells run by electricity will save the bullocks from so much cruelty, and will also lift much larger quantities of water, and thus give a great impetus to the cultivation of foodgrains. With the aid of a low power motor, the farmer can cut his fodder, press sugar-cane, shell his corn, and sharpen his tools.

Cheap power will also promote cottage industries, and thus rural artisans and the farmers can add to their wealth. Small saw-mills, flour mills, sugar-cane crushers, oil expellers, and small power-looms, can be installed in a fairly large number of villages. The benefits of cold storage can also be extended; it will particularly encourage potato cultivation, and save fruits and vegetables from wastage. Rural electrification will also help in providing good life to the farmers. To improve life in rural area, we must bring the modern scientific advances within the reach of the farmer. As Mr. Gillete observes: "Though progress does not consist wholly of material advance, it does seem to be true that improvements in minds and morals are not found without it. The civilization with advanced methods of production is, in fact, found amongst the cultured, the politically progressive and emancipated peoples." (1). Such a

(1) Gillete: Constructive Rural Sociology.—P. 25

progress can be brought home to the Punjabi cultivator if education in agricultural science is provided to the young-men, mechanised farming is encouraged, and rural electrification is made a reality, the dullness of the village life is banished by providing reading rooms and libraries, and by encouraging games. Thus the dream of the author of England's Green and Pleasant Land can be realised in the countryside of the East Punjab, if we keep the ideal before us that "the work of making an agricultural class able must be barren if it is not joined to the work of making that class understand that farming is merely a means to an end, and that end is a good life for farmers and everybody else."

Electrification will bring civilisation to rural areas, and will brighten the drab and sordid existence of the Indian cultivator. Electricity can also be used for domestic lighting in villages, particularly along the roadsides. On account of shortage in Kerosene oil most of the villagers have nothing to do after sunset; and after taking their meals they go to bed. If they can get electricity for domestic lighting, they can spend their leisure in reading, and women folk in knitting and sewing clothes for their family members. Life in dark houses dulls a person's faculties. Electrification of the houses in rural area will have a beneficial effect on the intelligence of the population also. Three T's, Tube-well, Tractor, and Trailer, have already become the symbols of a progressive farmer in East Punjab. Rural electrification and mechanisation of agriculture will liberate the children of the farmer from galley-slave drudgery, and will make farming a pleasant and a more profitable occupation. It will also create leisure which the farmer and his family can utilise in educational and cultural pursuits.

NEED OF A NEW EDUCATION POLICY

The East Punjab is a predominantly agricultural State. The uncertainties of life in a border State on account of tension between Pakistan and India are also not conducive to the development of industries. That is why a large number of capitalists who alone could invest capital in large-scale industry have migrated to the safer districts of U. P. Apart from development of small-scale cottage industry

with increase in available electric energy, there is little likelihood of development of large-scale industry in this State. In a predominantly agricultural State, agriculture naturally must remain the main industry of the people. As such, there is need of re-organising education on a new basis, taking the requirements of the population into consideration. Education in arts subjects can be good enough for people with surplus money, who can afford to spend money on education of this type, or for people who desire employment in clerical professions. As a result of the policy of graded cuts in the quasi-permanent allotment of land scheme, large holdings have been levelled, and increasing assertiveness among tenants has dimmed the prospects of the sons of well-to-do landholders in other villages. Hence, so far as villages are concerned, the class with surplus money is virtually disappearing. So far as clerical jobs are concerned, the saturation point has been reached, and the supply has exceeded the demand many times. Hence the need of reorientating the education policy to the actual requirements of the people of this State is indicated.

There is also need for severely checking education in Law, for there are far too many unemployed or semi-employed lawyers. It was as early as 1879 that Monier Williams, thus pleaded for the restriction in the number of lawyers, "A limit should be put by law to the increase of native pleaders. If Indian money-lenders are metaphorically called incarnate curses, Indian Wakeels are rapidly earning a title to the same flattering appellation. I have heard natives complain of what they call the oppression of our Law Courts with their elaborate machinery of expensive processes and appeals. What they mean is not that injustice is done, but that justice is overdone. They might, with more reason, complain of the oppression of their own Wakeels who live by promoting quarrels, prey upon litigants, and drain the very life-blood out of their own fellow-countrymen". (1).

The controversy raised over the location of the proposed Agriculture College for East Punjab, with claims for Ludhiana, Karnal, Hissar and Ferozepore put up by interested persons, itself shows the urgent need of expansion of

(1) Monier Williams: Modern India and the Indians, 1879.—P. 211.

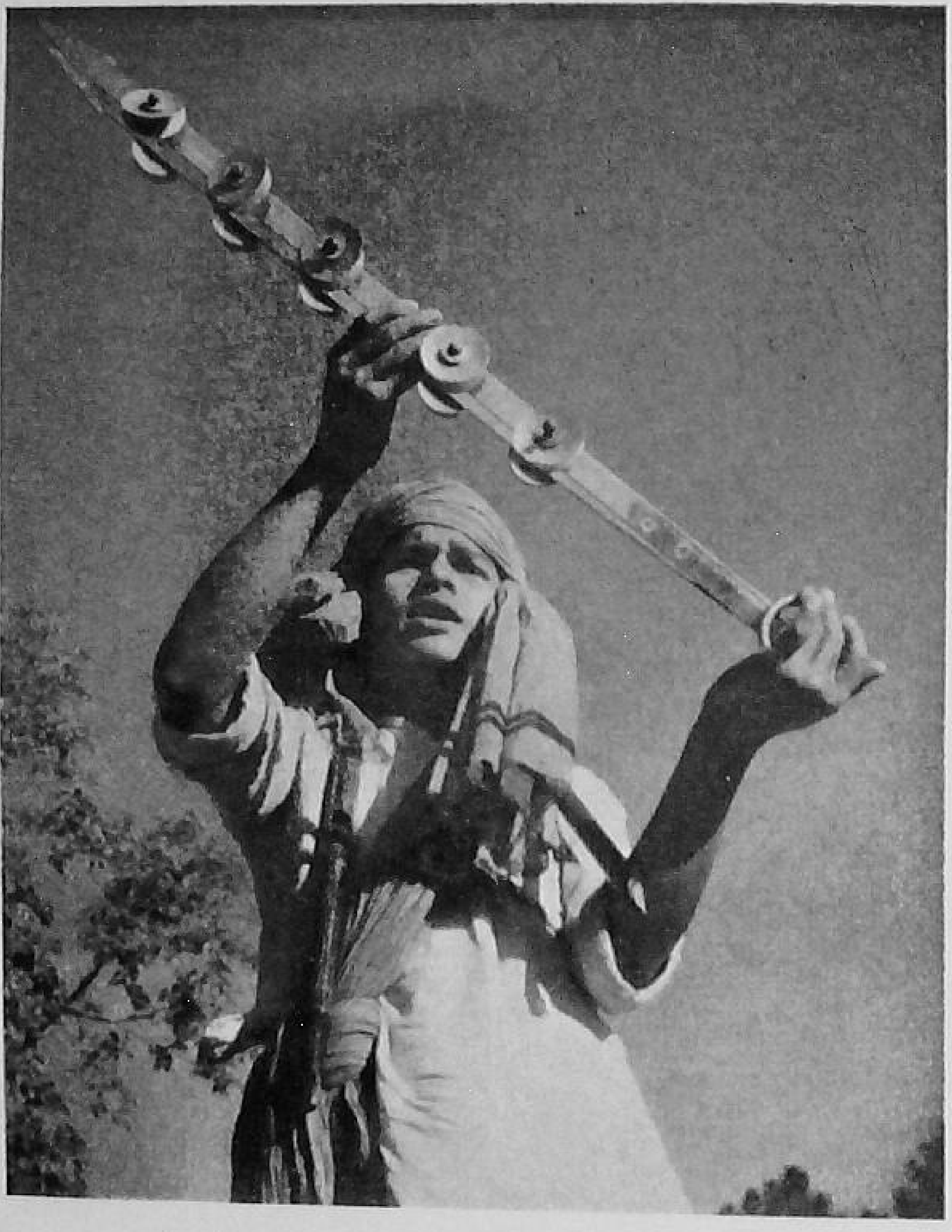
education in Agriculture. Instead of providing one Agriculture College, it would be worthwhile to close some of the Arts Colleges and to provide Agriculture Colleges in at least five districts of the State. With prevailing food deficits in the country, the paramount importance of Agriculture in the economy of the State has been brought home not only to the cultivators but also to educated townsmen, who do not get enough to eat. Interest in progressive agriculture has been greatly stimulated by the high prices. Agriculture as a profession was till lately regarded as good enough for clod-hoppers and illiterate Jats and Chamars. As a career for educated youngmen, it was entirely out of question, and even sons of landowners who have fairly substantial holdings held the same opinion. In fact education is regarded by the sons of agriculturists as an opportunity to escape from their ancestral occupation, What Professor Carver (1) says about Ireland holds true about the East Punjab as well. "Now it is true that there are probably few fortunes made in agriculture; it is not a business that lends itself readily to the amassing of large profits through speculative undertakings. It provides a better living for a greater number of persons than any other occupation but, as at present managed, it possesses little attraction for a man of high spirit and enterprise; there is a tendency in almost every country for the less vigorous, the less capable and the less enterprising youths to be left on the farms; there is a sort of idea that any fool can be a farmer, that all that is required for those who cannot find employment in industry is a few acres of land; most people seem to hold the belief that they could make a success of farming if they had the opportunity, and few realise that to be a thoroughly equipped scientific farmer probably requires a higher education, certainly a more complete scientific education, than any of the learned professions, with the possible exception of medicine. Under these circumstances it is small wonder that agriculture has been neglected; the farmer has been the forgotten man and, until comparatively recent times, he has attracted little or no interest from

(1) Principles of Rural Economics; Carver.—P. 200. State Help for Agriculture—P. 49. Rural Reconstruction in Ireland —P. 261. Also Cf. Smith Gordon: Co-operation for Farmers—P. 231.

Government or the rest of the people".

With the attraction of high prices and rise in unemployment among the educated young men from rural areas, attention of the educated people is being increasingly diverted to progressive agriculture. Education in arts subjects hardly equips a person for the profession of farming. Like medical science, the science of Agriculture is a complicated one, and to be a good agriculturist a person must have mastery over a number of sciences like, Botany, Chemistry, Plant Physiology, Soil Science and Agronomy. It requires keen observation as well as capacity for hard work. Education in arts subjects softens a person, and develops aversion to manual work. The net result of such education is the Babu who cannot even look after himself and must have a servant. The tradition of Babuism can only be killed if education is given a practical bias. As Mr. Calvert says, "In India the tendency seems to be to take an exaggerated view of bodily pain and of the inevitable inconveniences of a rough and tumble life. Compulsion is resented; discipline which lies at the root of all organisation is apt to be under-valued". Hardihood and sense of discipline can only be developed if education has a practical bias. This indicates the need for a short course of a year or so after the matriculation stage in which the sons of well-to-do farmers are given instruction in the handling of tractors, pumping sets, and low-powered electric motors. The longer course should be for students who would like to be employed in the State Department of Agriculture. Even for employment in the revenue department, preference should be given to graduates in Agriculture as they are better equipped to understand the problems of the rural population and to help them in their day-to-day needs.

So far as rural artisans are concerned, they should be encouraged to improve their efficiency through short term courses in vocational training centres. With the electrification of rural areas there would be need of imparting vocational training to the sons of rural artisans on a larger scale. Sons of cobblers, weavers, carpenters, iron-smiths, tailors, oil-crushers, and potters, should be given an opportunity to improve their technique and deserve to be provided with



A chimta is a complete orchestra.

loans in kind in the form of small machines which they can instal in their homes. This will also check the growth of slums in towns and bring about a happy balance between the town and the country. Further, this will save the artisans from drifting into inefficient agriculture.

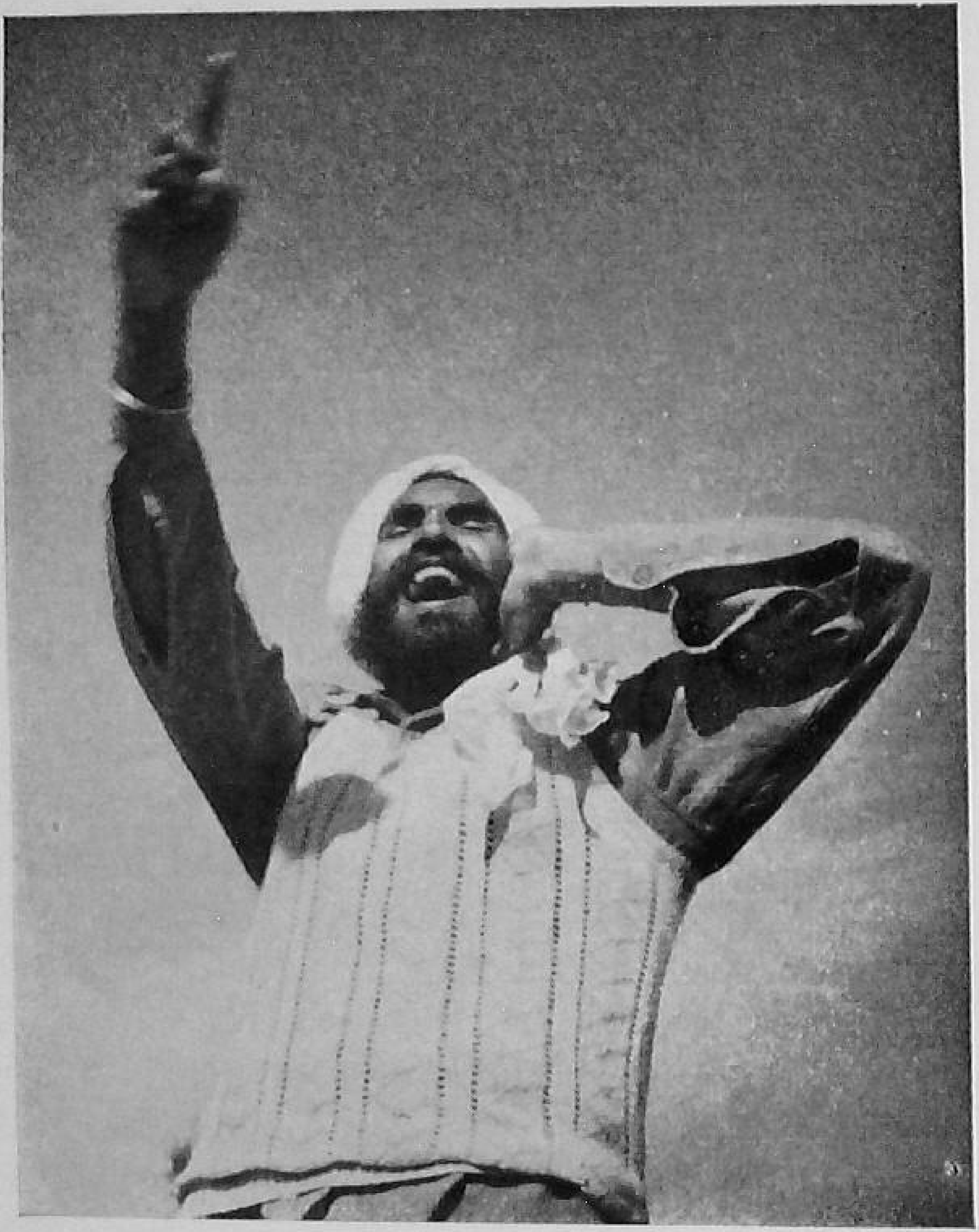
LIBRARIES AND READING ROOMS

What other means should be adopted to check exodus from the rural area to the towns. This exodus can be partially checked if the village is made more attractive. An educated villager who has seen the world, whether in the army or otherwise, and who ultimately returns to his village and lives there for fairly long spell of time inevitably feels the dullness of village life. The dullness and monotony of the village life in due course kills all ambition and stifles intelligence and initiative in a youngman. Ultimately, the results of education and experience are lost, and he is brought down to the level of the common villager, whose main pre-occupation lies in running down his enemies, and in promoting village factions. The party factions in the village scare away intelligent people, including retired Government servants, from their ancestral villages as they very rightly apprehend that if they settle down in their villages they will inevitably find themselves drifting to the courts in a case under section 107 Cr. P. C. What measures should be adopted to brighten the villages and to mitigate their dullness. The dullness of village life can be appreciably lessened if reading rooms and libraries equipped with modern furniture, pictures, and books are established in villages. In these reading rooms educated villagers can spend their leisure hours in an interesting and useful manner in a pleasing and restful environment. Some people will ask why these reading rooms in villages should be decorated with pictures, and made beautiful. A reading room decorated in an orderly manner would have a far reaching effect on the mentality of the farmer. He will acquire a sense of beauty and orderliness. It will help him even in his profession. In fact a good farmer possesses sense of beauty and orderliness; that is why he levels his uneven fields, raises straight embankments, and sows his crops in

lines. These reading rooms will also save the educated villager from relapse into illiteracy. Education should not cease with the school. Education lies in acquiring the benefit of experience of others. A person acquires experience and education by meeting people who are wiser than him, by travelling, or by reading books which contain quintessence of the experience of others. Books are the best medium for benefiting from the experience of people who are far away, even in remote countries. Thus, in educating the villager in the real sense, these reading rooms have an important role. A start in this direction has already been made in many villages of the districts of Ambala Division.

GAMES

Games have just as much importance in relieving the dullness and boredom of village life as reading rooms. Wrestling bouts were common and popular about 20 years ago in the villages of the Punjab. 'Dangals' were held on the occasion of the fairs, and wrestlers were given liberal donations by the villagers who used to assemble to watch their skill. The school boys used to play football, *Kabaddi*, or volley-ball in the village common. All this is disappearing with disastrous result on the village life. The instinct to distinguish oneself from the common crowd is universal, and is as much found among youngmen in the villages as in the towns. With no opportunities for games, this instinct finds an outlet in crime, and the dacoit has become the popular hero. Even from the point of view of prevention of crime, sports should be encouraged in villages. Now that Consolidation of Holdings is going on in the districts of East Punjab on such a large scale, it is necessary that a suitable piece of land is demarcated for a playground in every village. In villages where the Panchayats are doing useful work, bar-balls, parallel bars, and ropes for tug-of-war should also be provided. Matches among village teams should be encouraged. The maxim: "prevention is better than cure", holds as good for public morals as for public health. Thus, the surplus energy of the village youngmen will find healthy outlet in sports rather than in crime, and the State Government will possibly have to incur



A peasant sings a folk song.

less expenditure on police administration.

FOLK SONGS

Life in the rural area of the Punjab was not so colourless and drab about a decade ago. The quiet and stillness of the night was broken by the melodies of the young girls whose songs accompanied the humming of the spinning-wheel. The young daughter takes pride in her spinning-wheel, which she says is made of gold with an axle of silver, and is adorned with a silk thread dyed in crimson red. It was probably on hearing the echo of a spinning-wheel such as this, that the "Jogi" descended to the plains from his retreat in the mountains. The young bride asks her farmer husband to carry her spinning-wheel to the fields where he is ploughing the land. The somnolent sound of the spinning-wheel, which sounds as "ghoon ghoon", casts a spell on the girls who assemble at the spinning-bee. The spinning-wheel is linked with sentiments which agitate their hearts; and thus writes the folk singer in his song of the spinning-wheel:

"Ghoon, ghoon, O spinning-wheel, ghoon ghoon,
Should I spin the red roll of carded cotton or not?
Spin, girl, spin, O spin, girl spin.
Far off is my father-in-law's home, O spinning-wheel,
Should I live there or not?
Live, girl, live, O live, girl, live.
Long, long is my tale of woe, O spinning-wheel,
Should I tell or not?
Tell, girl, tell, O tell, girl, tell.

The songs of the sisters of the spinning wheel are vanishing from the countryside. Gaily decorated *charkhas* studded with mirrors and cowrie-sheels are becoming scarce. The *trinjan* is no more to be seen, and remains only a pleasant memory of the by-gone days of rural simplicity. With the wave of puritanism which has swept over the countryside of the Punjab in the form of religious reformistic movements song and music have virtually disappeared from our villages. The peripatetic preacher with his harmonium is a poor substitute for the village bard and the minstrel. The folk songs which survive in some villages which have been saved from the onslaught of puritanical

reforms, are also in danger of extinction. The soul of the rural people is being bartered away for the doubtful gain of the so-called religious reform. Dull and monotonous *bhajans* and *shabads* are replacing the soul-stirring songs of the common people which have their roots in the remote past. The exodus of Muslim *mirasis* to Pakistan, who regaled the countryside with their jokes, has further added to the dullness of village life.

Only in villages which have remained untouched by modern education, women-folk have preserved the cradle songs, marriage songs and the spinning songs. The gramophone fitted with loud speakers has already invaded the countryside, and the cheap and vulgar film songs are ousting folk music. The folk songs of the Punjab, which are known for their simplicity, sincerity and directness, the true out-pourings of simple and honest souls or as Satyarthi would call them, 'heart-beats of the people', are gradually dying. It is the women who have been the custodians of ancient folk songs and have preserved the tradition of dance and music. Under the lure of the school education, women in villages are developing an inferiority complex and regard their songs, dances and even dress as something primitive and unworthy of ladies. This is having particularly unfortunate results in Hariana districts, where women-folk are being told that their colourful *ghagri* is unworthy of educated women-folk and they are being asked to adopt *salwars* as their dress. Folk songs are regarded only good enough for yokels. Now that people are discovering the values of ancient culture, perhaps folk songs can be rescued from the onslaught of the film and the gramophone. It is time that we cry halt on the so-called reform, and rescue our ancient folk songs and dances from the crusade of religious maniacs. This duty has devolved upon the State. Some ardent collectors of folk songs like Davendar Satyarthi and Ram Saran Das have done yeomen's service to the rural people by recording the folk songs of the Punjab countryside, and have thus saved many lilting melodies from sinking into oblivion.

FOLK DANCES

People who have not seen the Punjab Himalaya often

A Gaddi boy plays on a flute.

get an impression that folk dances are foreign to the Punjab. The Gaddi shepherds of Kangra Valley have preserved their ancient dance and music in spite of the opening of the valley to tourist traffic. Dressed in kilts of snow-white wool, with their loins girt with yards of thick black ropes, they dance with a spirit of abandon and freedom to the tune of the thumping sounds of the *naqara* drum. Their womenfolk, dressed in colourful home-spun garments and overladen with silver jewellery, sit round the men-folk in a circle, and provide them inspiration. These Gaddi women are comely and graceful, and have dignity and poise, and look like queens of the valley. *Lugri*, a liquor made from fermented rice, keeps their spirits up, and to the accompaniment of the sound of the drum they dance till late hours in the night, recounting the nocturnal adventures of the Gaddi lovers, Konjua and Chanchlo, the Romeo and Juliet of the Chamba Valley.

However, it is the men from Saraj, Kulu, who have originated folk dances which are marked by high artistic quality. Dressed in white long-coats, with black caps on their heads, topped with tufts of iridescent *Monal* plumes, they appear very picturesque. To the sound of drums and trumpets they dance the whole day through. Their sword dance is very manly, and they execute it with a spirit of joy particularly when they are surrounded by a large crowd of their women folk wearing colourful aprons, red, green and scarlet and multi-coloured blankets draped around their bodies. Under the inspiration of the dance and music, they forget their worries and the rigours of their hard mountain life. Their songs of hope and sorrow, are rich and varied, and have a primitive dignity of their own.

In the plains, it is the Labana Sikhs, Rai Sikhs, and some Jat Sikhs from Sheikhupura and Gujranwala, who have preserved the tradition of *Bhangra* dance. *Bhangra* is a dance of vigorous people, which is marked with exuberance of spirits and display of elemental energy. The onlooker is impressed by the strength and vigour of the dancers who punctuate their rhythmic movements with folk songs which are often ribald. *Bhangra* is a dance of the Punjab plains which is truly symbolic of the sons

of the soil, who have to bear the rigours of the Punjab climate, which is like an inferno in summer and cold and frosty in winter.

BAGHS & PHULKARIS

It is also desirable to revive the designs of *Baghs* and *Phulkaris* in embroidery. *Baghs* and *Phulkaris* were embroidered by the village women of Punjab about a decade ago. Pieces of home-spun cloth, dyed in rich crimson colour, served as a back-ground for beautiful designs embroidered in yellow silk floss. Closely embroidered designs, which entirely covered the cloth, were called *Baghs*, i.e. gardens, while those with spaced designs were called *Phulkaris*, which means 'scattered flowers'. The country women spent their entire leisure embroidering the *Baghs*, and a good *Bagh* took one to two years to be embroidered. Young girls embroidered *Baghs* and *Phulkaris* for their dowries, which they took with them on marriage to their father-in-law's house.

The *Bagh* and *Phulkari* designs from Moga tahsil in Ferozepur district are well-known for their beauty and elegance. The *Phulkari* designs from the Doaba districts are comparatively crude. Influx of cheap and gaudy machine-made printed textiles from Japan have dealt a death-blow to the ancient embroideries. Moreover, the village women do not have the same leisure or patience as their ancestors had, and have also lost the skill which the old women possessed. The exotic D.M.C. styles have also done a good deal of harm. It would be desirable to collect specimens of *Baghs* and *Phulkaris* from all the districts of the Punjab, and to preserve and exhibit them in a suitable museum. The *Phulkari* designs also deserve to be introduced in embroidery classes of girls schools. They can be adopted for embroidering house-hold linen, curtains, *saries*, blouses, and children's garments. The Bayeaux tapestry of France finds honourable mention in the history of Europe. In the cultural revival of the rural Punjab it is desirable that the beautiful designs of *Phulkaris* and *Baghs* are resuscitated, so that this art, which is on the verge of extinction gets its due place in modern life.

In their new homes in East Punjab.

In the cultural revival of the Punjab, folk dances, songs, and drama have their place. It is not only by providing material prosperity that a people can progress. It is only when their spirit is revived, and they feel the joy of life which they freely express in song, dance, and music that people live again. It is the cultural revival of Punjab which lays as much emphasis on the spirit of man as material prosperity which is our aim. It is only when the countryside of the Punjab will reverberate with the songs of the people, a happy and freed people, bringing joy and happiness to all, that the true rebirth of the country-side will take place.

CHAPTER 17

FERMENT IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

LIKE Monsieur Jourdain in Molieres' "Bourgeois Gentilhomme" who discovered that he was speaking prose all his life without knowing it, we are living in a revolution without being conscious of a vast socio-economic change which is taking place all over the world, and particularly in the eastern countries. While a vast change in the agrarian economy is taking place over large areas of the globe, India also cannot remain unaffected. Guided by the scientific socio-economic doctrine of Nehruism revolution continues to march on in India. Unlike other countries it is not accompanied by any violent convulsions, large scale blood-shed, incendiarism, and rapine, for the violent phase, when passions were roused to white heat, had spent itself in the post-partition disturbances of August-October, 1947. Though the extremists are showing unnecessary impatience, change in the social and economic life of the country is inevitable. It is fortunate that theoretical considerations and dogmas have not prevailed, and the change is being brought about in a methodical and orderly manner. In a country with such diversity in agricultural and demographic conditions, this is all the more necessary, and a revolution on a foreign model would have only made confusion worst confounded. A vast change is being brought about in a peaceful and legal manner. There are many persons who are impatient of legalistic methods and advocate a drastic change without understanding its practical implications. Means of livelihood are also to be provided to the owners, and they are also to be made useful and productive citizens, and that is why the principle of compensation has been accepted in the constitution of India.

There is no doubt that men's ideas about fundamental concepts of life, such as property and ownership are under-

going a radical change. Ferment of new ideas is working in the countryside, and new values are emerging. More importance is now being attached to work than to mere ownership. This may bring about physical and mental health to large numbers, and those who merely lived on the work of others without exerting the nerve fibres of their brains, or the muscles of their body may find conditions of life rather hard. The partition of the country which involved large-scale migration of population from both the sides dealt a hard blow to the concept of private property, at least in the Punjab, where millionaires of yesterday are paupers of today. The landed aristocracy and the upper middle class received a rude shock: the inefficient among them were condemned to penury and destitution, while the more enterprising and energetic ones were galvanised into fresh activity, and have become more useful members of society.

In the context of these conditions let us consider the major agricultural and land problem in an objective manner. While dealing with the land problem, we have to consider its socio-economic aspect as well as the agricultural aspect. Too much emphasis has lately been given to the socio-economic aspect of the land problem while the agricultural aspect has been comparatively ignored. All types of quacks, many of them belonging to urban area, who have no knowledge of village conditions, and who have never cultivated land, have started dabbling in the land problem. In consideration of all these problems, we have to go to the fundamentals of agriculture. In the confusion which prevails, the horizon is darkened by a cloud of theories, and many of these are just theories based on sentiment rather than facts. Theories which are not based on facts sometimes do more harm than good. The confusion of ideas about the land problem is not peculiar to India alone, but in other countries also we find hot controversies among the politicians. Writing about England, Mr. Calvert observes, "The confusion of ideas about land is considerable among political parties in England; some would divide it into small holdings (i.e. areas under fifty acres) in order to check the increasing migration to the

towns; some would divide it into small proprietary holdings so as to break up the power of the great landlords; some would do the same in order to create a body of men who would resist all revolutionary change, socialists would divide the land amongst "the people" without quite understanding what the inexperienced people would do with it, the labour party advocates its partition among the unemployed in order to give them work to do; conservatives seem to think that such division would create a body of conservative voters."

Now let us examine the rural economy of the Punjab. Before partition, the Punjab was the most stable province in India; and the stability was due to the high proportion of small peasant proprietors who formed overwhelming majority of the population. Large landed estates were few, and were mostly restricted to the districts of Multan, Montgomery, Sargodha, Sheikhupura, Ferozepore and Hissar. Mr. Calvert carried out an enquiry into the size of holdings in the Punjab in 1925. His findings are given in the table below:—

	Percentage of holdings	Estimated No. of owners	Estimated No. of acres	Percentage of total cultivated area
Under 1 acre	17.9	625,400	313,000	1
1 - 3 acres	25.5	908,400	126,800	4.4
3 - 5 acres	14.9	520,000	1,935,000	6.6
5 - 10 acres	18.0	630,600	4,400,000	15.1
10 - 15 acres	8.2	288,300	3,353,000	11.5
15 - 20 acres	4.3	150,100	2,444,000	8.4
20 - 25 acres	2.7	94,000	1,967,000	6.8
25 - 50 acres	4.8	168,700	5,887,000	20.4
Over 50 acres	3.3	120,900	7,452,000	25.7

From this table following conclusions emerge: About 17.9 per cent of the owners of cultivated land in the province possess less than one acre of such land each and the area thus owned is only one per cent of the whole. About 40.4 per cent of owners own from one to less than five acres, the land involved being about 11 per cent of the whole. About 11.8 per cent own from fifteen to less than fifty

acres, the land being 35.6 per cent of the whole. About 3.7 per cent possess fifty and more acres and own, at a rather rough estimate, 25.7 per cent of the land. Thus while the great majority of Punjab peasants own very small parcels of land, the greater portion of the cultivated land is held in holdings of over fifteen acres. Out of the holdings below one acre the majority belong to non-agriculturists consisting mostly of Brahmans, Khatri and Arora shop-keepers and village menials; large number of these represent gifts to Brahmans made on the death of the late owner and some gifts to menials like oilmen, water carriers, and washermen made to retain their services in the village. Some of these represent purchases made by the Khatri and Arora shopkeepers. The size of the holdings is small in the sub-montane districts with secure rainfall in which the population is dense while the holdings are comparatively larger in insecure dry districts like Hissar and Ferozepore.

The holdings below 10 acres may not be economic, but nevertheless they provide a living to a large number of small proprietors. The type of farming on which they depended was only subsistence farming. While one brother cultivated and managed the land, the other brothers earned their living by joining the army, by engaging themselves in motor transport, or by taking up private service, and in some of the more congested districts they even emigrated to foreign countries. However, their two-acre plot of land in the village was the sheet-anchor of their economic security, and an insurance against periods of unemployment, adversity and misfortune. Thus we find that the pattern of rural life in the Punjab is not so simple, and we cannot say that some are cultivators and others are non-cultivators. While some may be cultivators for some time, they may become non-cultivators by taking up service or by engaging in business for some time and may revert to cultivation again. It is a varying and changing pattern, and the line between the cultivator and the non-cultivator is thin and imaginary. In fact it was the small owners, who constitute the overwhelming majority of the rural population, who saved the large land-owners also, for any legislation which would affect the small owners would also apply to the

owners of large landed estates, e.g., they equally benefited from the legislation regarding rural indebtedness.

ECONOMIC HOLDING

The concept of economic unit has come into considerable prominence. What is an economic holding? This is a concept which has continued to baffle economists without any satisfactory reply so far. Economists usually regard 10 acres of irrigated or 40 acres of unirrigated land as an economic unit, which can support a farmer and his family owning a pair of bullocks. The extent of an economic holding cannot be fixed permanently or uniformly in all the areas, since a number of factors such as fertility of the soil, irrigation facilities, extent of rainfall, availability of manure, and situation of the land in reference to the urban areas are to be considered. As. Mr. Strickland observes "2½ acres of good land is economic and 25 acres of bad land is not". In the end one has to agree with Mr. Calvert that the "term economic holding is a myth, a will-of-the-wisp". In the enquiries which have so far been carried out to determine the size of economic holding, no consideration has been given to factors such as facilities for education of the farmer's children, medical assistance, and other needs which are essential for the development of human personality. Moreover, with rapid technological developments, we have passed into the age of small tractors, and bullock power should no longer be the criterion for determining the size of an economic holding. In laying down the size of an economic holding we have to consider the type of standard of living which we would desire the rural population to enjoy. If we want to see them clad only in loincloth, leading a pair of bullocks and would like them to remain ignorant and illiterate, we may aim at the 10 acre policy. According to some, in this age of the tractor an economic holding should be a piece of land which can be cultivated with the aid of a small 10 H.P. tractor.

MAXIMUM HOLDING

In determining the maximum holding which a farmer

should possess, we have to consider the problem from a wider angle. The report of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee recommended the prescription of three times the economic holding as the maximum. Mr. N. G. Ranga in his minute of dissent suggested that it may be fixed at not more than 10 and not less than 5 times the economic holding. However, he emphasised the demand for parity treatment to be meted out by society and State between agriculture and other avocations of life. The income ceilings for agriculture should be the same as for commerce, business, and profession, and as Mr. Ranga observes "The fixation of maximum range in agriculture should follow the fixation of maximum in other sectors of economic life". For harmonious and balanced development of people belonging to various sectors of economic life the maximum income should be the same, whether it is from agriculture or from service, professions, industry, or business, otherwise the result would be imbalance to the serious disadvantage of the country in favour of the towns. If by an unwise scheme of ceilings, the maximum holdings are reduced to less than 100 standard acres, the result would be disastrous to rural economy. It would mean that the sons of the farmers would not be able to afford the expense of college education, and it would only strengthen the proportion of urban elements in State services, already disproportionately high to the disadvantage of rural area. Ultimately a class of officials would develope who are not in touch with rural masses, and who are unable to understand their problems. Conditions will change for the worse, as has happened in U.P., where most of the officials are from urban middle class families from the cities of Allahabad, Lucknow and Cawnpore etc. who do not have sufficient sympathy for rural people. They contemptuously refer to the villagers as *dihatis*; and on account of the gulf between the urban ruling classes and the rural people, the villagers of the U.P. have remained backward, ignorant and illiterate.

A WELL-BALANCED RURAL ECONOMY

For a well-balanced economy there is need of three types of owners; a sprinkling of owners of 100 to 150

standard acres, a large body of middle class peasants owning 25 to 50 standard acres, and the substratum of small peasant proprietors owning about 10 standard acres of land. It is only the large holders and the middle-class farmers who can entirely depend upon land for their living, while the small proprietors must have a second string to their bow, that is, some members of their families must take to service, business, professions or factory labour. A steam-roller levelling of holdings will not be conducive to healthy rural economy. That will only result in a type of uniform poverty, and any policy which aims at producing a uniform class of small holders would not be in the interest of the country. It will not be socialising prosperity but socialising poverty. It will further have an adverse effect on the procurement of foodgrains, for it is the owners of comparatively large holdings of above 20 acres, who sell their surplus in the market, while small owners produce just sufficient quantity for their own consumption. Moreover, it is the owners of comparatively large areas who can take up scientific farming on mechanised basis. In the countryside of England, the estate of the residential landlord is the centre of enlightenment and progress. It is only the holders of large areas who can afford to make experiments, while the small farmer cannot take the risk of change or an experiment. It is the enlightened upper middle class farmer, owning 25 to 100 standard acres of land, who forms the back-bone of the Punjab. The intelligentsia of the rural area of Punjab are mostly from families owning from 25 to 100 standard acres of land. Even from the defence point of view a contented and well-fed peasantry is essential, for the best soldiers with good physique come from lower middle-class farming families.

LAND TO THE TILLER

One of the slogans which has found ready acceptance among people who are interested in political thought is that land must belong to the tiller and there is no place for intermediaries in the agrarian economy of India. Slogans are dangerous in the sense that they over-simplify a problem. We have to carefully consider what would be the practical

results of such a policy in a State like the East Punjab with a large majority of peasant proprietors. What would be the result of large scale conferment of occupancy rights indiscriminately on tenants-at-will in a State like East Punjab? While the peasant proprietorship should be the ideal and which in fact already exists to a large extent occupancy tenancy which divides the ownership of land and its cultivation among two sets of people is most unsuitable from the agricultural point of view. As S. Lal Singh the late Director of Agriculture, Punjab observes; "Those in favour of converting 'tenants-at-will' to 'occupancy tenants' do not perhaps realise that wherever "occupancy tenant" system prevails, the standard of cultivation is the lowest, as must naturally be expected in as much as the tenants, being too poor, ignorant and illiterate, are not capable of thinking in terms of modern agriculture. Not being absolute owners, they have not the urge to bring about permanent improvement in the land as they are, after all, tenants and possess land under certain handicaps and can be ejected under certain conditions and cannot sell land. On the other hand the landlord sees no advantage in investing any money for effecting permanent improvement on his land, as under this system, he cannot get increased return under any conditions with the result, that standard of farming remains low and yields of crops are poor. Not only do the tenants and landlords suffer, but the country, as a whole, suffers due to poor crops. This is a most vicious system and the interest of the country demands that the sooner we get rid of this curse the better. If Government have got the means, let it finance the tenants by easy loans and enable them to become peasant farmers owning their own little plots of land as masters and not as tenants". In the Punjab the result of such a policy would be still more disastrous. Any scheme which would advocate conferment of rights on tenants of the small owners would immediately rouse the hostility of a very large section of people, and would imperil the stability of the State. This would also mean that simply out of fear to save their land, to which they are deeply attached, they would rather stay at home rather than join the army. The result would be that

a most promising source of recruitment for the army would dry up. This would also give an impetus to further urbanisation of Government services. Unlike other States, in the Punjab rural areas were fairly effectively represented in Government services, and this partly explains the efficiency of revenue administration, and its sympathetic handling of rural masses. If their ownership rights in land are jeopardized by conferment of occupancy rights on their tenants, it would mean that the rural intelligentsia, which has been providing talent to the administrative services, would be more tempted to stay in their villages to save their land rather than taking the risk of losing the land to tenants by joining services.

It is the socialists who are the main advocates of the slogan of land to the tiller, and socialism is essentially a town-bred doctrine. It is not the actual cultivation of land by means of a plough and a pair of bullocks, which constitutes agriculture. In fact, "It is the combination of a number of factors such as intelligent direction, capital and labour or power" as Mr. Calvert, the great thinker and philosopher observes, "and poverty results from the absence of one or more of these factors or from their inefficient combination". Agriculture has been regarded as rather too simple a type of business, and it is thought that if a man is given 10 acres of land and a pair of bullocks he will be able to fend for himself. Like medical science, which combines a large number of sciences such as chemistry, physics, physiology, bacteriology, protozoology and many other sciences, the science of agriculture also involves a knowledge of many sciences. As Professor Carver observes "There is a sort of idea that any fool can be a farmer, that all that is required for those who cannot find employment in industry is a few acres of land; most people seem to hold the belief that they could make a success of farming if they had the opportunity, and few realise that to be a thoroughly equipped scientific farmer probably requires a higher education, certainly a more complete scientific education than any of the learned professions, with the possible exception of medicine" (1).

(1) Cf. Principles of Rural Economics, Carver, ps. 200.

TENANCY PROBLEMS

Now let us examine the tenancy situation in East Punjab. Though by far East Punjab is the land of peasant proprietors, there is considerable tenancy problem in some districts, like Hissar, Ferozepore, and Karnal. In 1918-19, the total area cultivated by tenants of all kinds in the united Punjab was 1,48,32,884 acres, out of 2,91,40,212 acres of cultivated land i.e. 51%. In 1932, the acreage was as follows: Occupancy tenancies 22,34,000 or 13 per cent; others 1,48,61,000 or 87 per cent; total acreage 1,70,95,000 out of 2,99,13,000 cultivated. In the four districts of the East Punjab, Hissar, Rohtak, Karnal and Ambala 53% of the land was under owners, 11% under occupancy tenants and 36% under other tenants. In a large number of cases the so-called tenants are also small peasant proprietors, who do not possess sufficient land, and the so-called landlords are owners of uneconomic holdings which they let out to others, while they seek their livelihood in other ways. Another factor which contributed to the stability of the rural economy of the Punjab was the prosperity of the canal colonies. It is in the insecure regions of Punjab like Hissar, with low productivity, that the conflict between the landowners and their tenants is sharp. The tenants in the canal colonies of West Punjab had a respectable status, and even after sharing half the produce with the landholders they were better off than their counter-parts in other parts of India.

The partition had an adverse effect on the economy of the East Punjab. The disparity in area available as compared with the area abandoned, and more so in the quality of soil and irrigation sharpened the conflict between landholders and landless tenants. The scissors of graded cuts had pruned large holdings, and even middle-class farmers were also deeply affected. Even the middle-class farmers, who were quite contented to get *batai* in West Punjab, found that with their reduced holdings they could no longer afford the luxury of tenant-farming, and were anxious to associate themselves more intimately with the farming operations, and to raise incomes from the attenuated holdings by their toil, so that they could maintain the standard

of living to which they were accustomed.

Too much land under tenants-at-will, who have no security of tenure is not healthy from the agricultural point of view, as Arthur Young observed long ago. "Give a man the secure possession of a bleak rock and he will turn it into a garden; give him a nine years' lease of a garden and he will convert it into a desert". The best cultivation is done by the self cultivating peasant proprietor, then by an occupancy tenant, next by a crop sharing tenant and the worst by the hired labourer. The tenants-at-will, most of whom also own some land, pay more attention to the development of their own land than to the land which they take for *batai* cultivation. They do not plough the land thoroughly, use much less manure, and avoid cash crops which require sinking of capital in land. They avoid perennials, and do not care for the planting of any trees. From the agricultural point of view the best course is to provide facilities to the tenants of absentee landlords, who own large areas and have other means of income, to acquire the land which they are cultivating, and to become peasant proprietors. It is the high price of land which is preventing tenants from becoming owners, and thus a reasonable price will have to be fixed if the tenants of absentee landlords are to become peasant proprietors. As regards occupancy tenants, the Punjab Government have already enacted legislation to make them full owners on payment of suitable compensation to owners.

ABSENTEEISM

Absenteeism and large landlordism is undoubtedly a curse to the rural economy. Too much land is also a handicap, as the Kulu farmers say, "too much land is a mere liability for land revenue, and too many wives are a curse for the husband". Large landlordism is not conducive to the healthy development of the rural society. Big landlords with plenty of land rarely bother about its development, and usually rent out their entire land to tenant farmers. Large landlordism is usually linked up with absenteeism. Unlike other parts of India, in the East Punjab absenteeism and large landlordism is not much of a

problem. Most of the large landlords were in the districts of the West Punjab, and in the East Punjab this problem exists only in the districts of Hissar, Ferozepore, and Karnal, where entire villages are inhabited by resident tenants. The big landlords are mostly non-cultivators, who in some cases have also other means of livelihood. Any legislation which affects the absentee land-holders of large areas, is in the interest of the State, as the resident tenants, who in many cases have built pucca houses of their own, will acquire the dignity of ownership, thus contributing to the stability of the rural economy. Reviewing the progressive rise of the tillers of the soil from their servitude, we see that by and by they were relieved of the burden of a parasitic class. In the early days, the Rajas, Nawabs, their courtiers, officials, and soldiers sponged on the countryside, and deprived the cultivator of the profits of his labour, leaving him a bare subsistence. With the advent of the British rule, these classes of non-producers disappeared and in their place helped by the civil laws a class of middle-men, shop-keepers-cum-money-lenders came into prominence. For half a century these usurers plied their devastating trade. The Unionist Ministry of the Punjab provided considerable relief to the indebted cultivators by their beneficent legislation, such as, Redemption of Mortgaged Lands Act, Debtors Protection Act, Indebtedness and Money Lenders Act. Now steps are being taken to relieve the farmers of the dead load of large absentee land-lordism.

HARIJANS

The Harijans, who generally comprise landless labourers and village artisans, have become fully conscious of their rights as equal citizens with the land-owning classes. The recent elections in which their role was decisive have further added to their importance. They are becoming increasingly assertive, and are no longer willing to remain mere hewers of wood and drawers of water for the so-called higher castes. There is considerable urge among them to acquire the respectable status of land owners, as ownership of land, however small in area, confers dignity and status. The Harijans should be given proprietorship over the sites on

which their houses stand, as well as small allotments of land where common land is available, so that they are enabled to live with dignity and honour as equal citizens of the State. The village economy represented a co-operative enterprise in which the small peasant proprietors and the Harijan farm labourers were partners; and it is unfortunate that their relations have been disturbed and disharmony has resulted. Simply to acquire respectability in some cases the *chamars* have abandoned their more lucrative professions of shoe-making and tanning of hides, thus causing a great national loss. It would be disastrous to the economy of the country if they abandon their hereditary professions in which they have acquired so much skill. The real remedy lies in providing them with modern tools on loan basis, so that they are enabled to earn more. In some villages which have been electrified, the weavers are going in for small power-looms, carpenters for electrically driven band saws, and the cobblers for treadle machines for sewing leather.

NEED OF HARD WORK

On account of the historical background of this country with a long period of servitude under the rule of foreigners, political remedies are increasingly being sought for economic ills, and need of hard work is not sufficiently emphasised. During the British rule it was customary to blame the Britishers for the poverty of the masses and for all the ills from which the country and the people suffered. The defects in the character of the people, such as slothfulness, unfairness in dealings with each other, and lack of character were conveniently ignored. In that sense rule by foreigners of an alien population is dangerous both for the rulers and the ruled. Now that people have got the control of their country in their own hands, and for good or ill are the masters of their own destiny, and they should seriously face the facts and seek the remedy for their traditional poverty in systematic hard work and cooperative enterprise helped and guided by the Government.

The soil of England and France is not naturally fertile, and it is only as a result of six centuries of hard work and adoption of agronomial practices such as manuring, rota-

tion of crops and tillage that it has risen to its present level of productivity. Denmark with its comparatively poor soil is a classical example of a naturally poor country being converted into a prosperous one by planned co-operative effort of the people of the country. The relation of the farmer to the soil was well put by Thorold Rogers over fifty years ago: "The student of agricultural history . . . will find that what economists call fertility is not only that of the earth and the sun, but of that acuteness, skill, foresight, and diligence which constitutes the best qualities of a competent husbandman in our day. Fertility is and must be in the soil, but it is still more in the intelligence of the man who handles the soil. The former kind of fertility is, and may remain, a capacity only; the latter is an energy (1)." It is the human factor which is as important in agriculture as in an industry, and it is the character and intelligence of the farmer, much more than the soil, which explains his prosperity or lack of it. As Professor Carver says: "Communities and nations have remained poor in the midst of rich surroundings, or fallen into decay and poverty in spite of the fertility of their soil and the abundance of their natural resources, merely because the human factor was of poor quality or was allowed to deteriorate or run to waste". (2) The Muslim Arains of Jullundur district by the application of farm-yard manure and irrigation from wells converted the sand dunes of Nakodar and Jullundur into fertile *chahi* land. The Sikh Jat and Saini farmers by their stamina and capacity for hard work converted the scrub jungles of Lyallpur and Montgomery into prosperous farm lands. Where the conditions of life are hard, people develope character, grit, and the strength to fight through. Where nature is bountiful, and soil is naturally rich, people become easy going and soft. The Kulu valley with its fertile irrigated soil provides an instance of poverty amidst the bounty of nature.

The wisdom of the words of Mr. Calvert uttered a decade ago cannot be over-emphasised when we see the people still continue in a helpless and apathetic mood. Thus said Mr.

(1) Thorold Rogers: History of Agriculture and Prices, Vol. IV, Ch. XXVI.
(2) Carver: Principles of Rural Economics, p. 174.

Calvert: "Over and over again, populations oppressed with misery and distress have turned to political remedies for the alleviation of conditions which are due to their own defects; disorder, strife, disturbances follow; the misery and distress are increased, and the one remedy open to the victims is not only neglected, it is too frequently prevented from exerting its fruitful influence. Purely political remedies seldom prove effective cures of economic ills. They can do a vast amount of harm; their record for economic good will with difficulty be traced in the history of positive achievement. It was not until the impotence of political agitation to improve their economic condition had become manifest to the working classes of England that they embarked upon that great campaign of self-help, now commonly known as the Co-operative Movement. The excessive importance attached to the political question in Ireland has, according to Irish writers, proved a serious factor in weakening the character of the Irish farmer as a producer of wealth. Sentimental appeals in favour of constitutional change turned his mind away from the more practical questions of his daily life with the result that having acquired what is called "Self-Government" he has lost the prosperity he enjoyed when he concentrated his attention on the problem of his own economic regeneration. For the main question was one of poverty and its solution seemed to many patriotic Irishmen to lie in the widespread adoption of co-operation. Able, intelligent and sympathetic leaders came forward to lead their people on the road of organised self-help which leads to prosperity; but there were others in the field who seemed to regard general economic prosperity as an obstacle in the way of the growth of that political discontent they were anxious to stimulate in support of their campaign for constitutional change. The years of solid, patient, persistent hard work required to effect lasting economic improvement offer little attraction to the weaker minds which are easily misled by the wonderful promises held out by visionary politicians. There are always many too willing to leave to a government the work they ought to do for themselves, and there are few candidates with the courage to warn the electors that they can only assist, and can offer

no substitute for, the hard work men must do for themselves (1)".

It is undoubtedly true that people left to themselves cannot achieve much unless they are provided leadership by the Government and active help in the form of loans for the purchase of agricultural tools and implements of proved utility such as pumping sets, electric motors and small tractors, and it is fortunate that it is forthcoming. It is also fortunate that the farmers in the East Punjab are realizing that a country cannot be legislated into progress, and while legislation can provide certain facilities and create suitable conditions for progress, it is only by their own toil that they can conquer poverty, and improve their standard of living.

(1) Calvert: The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab, pps. 20, 21.

CHAPTER 18

OUT OF THE ASHES

ON examining the balance sheet of the partition, as it affected East Punjab, we find that there are items on the credit as well as the debit side. The loss in area which the displaced landowners have suffered, particularly in perennial irrigated land is crippling. However, the loss has been shared by the entire body of refugee land owners according to the scheme of graded cuts. After a good deal of heart-burning they have accepted the inevitable, and have redoubled their efforts to snatch a living from the soil which is less fertile as compared with what they left in West Punjab. There is no doubt that thousands have perished in the holocaust, and will not see the fruits of their sacrifice. Every dark cloud has a silver lining and the dark cloud of partition has numerous such linings. The partition has been a great leveller of humanity, and after losing their hoards in West Punjab, the erst-while rich had to make a new start in the struggle for existence which followed the partition. Only the hard-working, able, and intelligent persons could find their feet, while the indolent, parasitic element suffered a good deal. Apart from the colonists and the refugee farmers from Lahore, Sheikhupura, and Gujranwala, large number of Hindus and Sikhs from Rawalpindi and Multan Divisions were shopkeepers-cum-money-lenders who despised manual work and deprived of their easy way of making money, they are now being compelled to change their economy, and are increasingly drifting into the ranks of workers and are realising the dignity of manual labour. Their resettlement in the stagnant towns of East Punjab has quickened the pulse of social life. Drab bazars, with ill-kept shops, have completely changed, and instead we find well-stocked orderly shops with a large variety of goods. The townsmen in the districts of East Punjab were socially

backward, and their women purdah-ridden. The vivacious refugee women, particularly from the Rawalpindi Division, have brightened the town life. Refugee shopkeepers have penetrated isolated villages, and even in the villages in the desert of Bhiwani in Hissar district, bananas and oranges can be had. The local residents of East Punjab have increasingly adopted fruit in their dietary. The refugee shopkeeper has greatly increased the circulation of goods even in villages inhabited by the parsimonious Jats of Haryana Prant. Fruit shops are found in much larger numbers in all the towns in East Punjab, and meat as an article of diet is finding increasing popularity with the vegetarian population of the districts of Ambala Division. The free and easy culture of West Punjab had a liberalising influence on the women of East Punjab, who emulating the example of their sisters from West Punjab have discarded purdah and escaped from the prisons of their homes, and now *Bahujis* can also be seen elegantly dressed promenading the streets.

The partition has provided great opportunities for planning and rebuilding life on a new pattern. Vast experiments in rural housing, and co-operative farming and gardening have been tried over one fourth of the total cultivated area of East Punjab. Large areas have been acquired for townships and industrial areas, which would not have been possible if the populations had not moved.

The gain on the administrative side is particularly significant. Before the partition there was acute tension between the members of the two major communities in almost every town in the country. Under the British Government the administrative machinery was mainly engaged in keeping peace among the rival communities, and it was mostly engaged in regulating religious processions on the occasion of festivals and thus preventing a clash between them. With the partition of the country, the virile element among the Muslims, including a large number of bad characters migrated to Pakistan. Thus communal tension was eased throughout India, and conditions have been created so that the administrative machinery could now concentrate on social and economic problems as well as on nation building activities.

Thus a new channel has been provided for the energies of the people which can now find an outlet in constructive work.

On the debit side we find that on account of the departure of the Muslims the pattern of life is less varied, and consequently less interesting. It is the departure of the *Mirasis* and *Naqals* which is being greatly felt in the rural area, for they were the people who used to provide fun and enjoyment to the tired farmers after their toil. Out of the Muslim cultivators, it is the Arains of Jullundur district whose departure caused a gap in the economy, for they were very hard working farmers and market gardeners who raised precious crops of vegetables.

On account of their different food habits, the Muslims on the one side, and the Hindus and the Sikhs on the other, were commensals; the food which was discarded by one community was relished by the other. While pig rearing has vanished from the territories that are now Pakistan, cow killing has become an impossibility in East Punjab, and goats are increasingly being used for meat. This has resulted in an enormous increase in the number of useless cattle. Old and infirm cows and bullocks, dry cows, and male calves of buffaloes roam about in large numbers and trespass into fields, in the suburban villages causing great loss to the farmers. The useless animals are seriously competing with the human population, depleting the food resources. With the adoption of small motor tractor, which is bound to take place when cheaper sources of power are made available, the number of bullocks who are surplus to the needs of agriculture is likely to increase still more. Formerly, the useless cattle formed the staple diet of poor class of the Muslims, and there was a flourishing leather trade in the Punjab. The urge for acquiring respectable status is encouraging the Harijans, who were flayers of skins and tanners of hides, to abjure their ancestral profession. The net result is that a great national loss has occurred, and the leather industry has suffered a great loss and the farmer has to bear an unnecessary burden. Unless cow protection sentiment is curbed, and due consideration is given to the economic needs of the country, there is a danger that the roles may be reversed; formerly

the Muslims used to eat useless cattle and now the useless cattle may eat the Hindus and Sikhs. Establishment of abattoirs in selected places have been suggested as one of the remedies. Perhaps the religious sentiment is too strong and may militate against this proposal. Other remedy would be to export them to the neighbouring country where the population has no such sentiments. In any case a solution to the problem must be found, otherwise rural economy of East Punjab will suffer a good deal.

Now we have come to the close of our survey of the rehabilitation of rural refugees in East Punjab. The most difficult phase of their rehabilitation is over, and they are already striking roots into the soil of East Punjab. If the grown-ups are sometimes victims of nostalgia and remember their ancestral villages in West Punjab, the younger generation is no longer haunted by such memories. While the older people are nursing memories of the horrors through which they have passed, and which may appear like fairy tales with the lapse of time to the generations to come, the younger people are no longer obsessed with such horrors. They are regarding their new villages as their homes. They are looking with confidence to the future, for people who are accustomed to hard work have nothing to be afraid of. The Punjabis are an eminently practical race who believe in hard work and who would rather move their hands than merely wag their tongues. Their hard common sense and practicality is the secret of their survival. Now they are busy rebuilding their State, which in the post-partition period of 1947 was practically in shambles. Townships with parks and open spaces and neat and orderly houses can be seen in the suburbs of nearly all important towns. Industrial areas have been planned on an ambitious scale to provide for the present as well as the future needs of industry. Ruined villages are fast disappearing from the rural landscape, and in place of small insanitary houses commodious well-ventilated houses are being built along wide streets laid out under the Rural Housing Scheme. Though people in districts with deficient rainfall are pinning their hopes on the fulfilment of ambitious multi-purpose schemes of irrigation from Nangal and Bhakra Dams, in

the districts in which water level is high enough, and irrigation from wells is possible, refugee farmers have not been waiting for the completion of the large irrigation schemes with folded hands. They have sunk tubewells, bored the existing percolation wells, and in many cases with the help of generous loans from government have fitted them with electric motors or diesel engines. The East Punjab districts which were Cinderella of the United Punjab, have moved forward, and the efforts of experienced farmers from the colony districts of West Punjab have already converted this deficit area into a surplus one in respect of foodgrains. On account of his intelligence and practical commonsense, the refugee farmer is taking to progressive agriculture like a duck to water. He knows that the secret of the so-called Grow More Food is more irrigation, and helped by the State Department of Agriculture he has tried to pump as much water from the bowels of the earth as possible and an enthusiastic Director of Agriculture has made composting of manure in the neighbourhood of large towns a flourishing industry which has greatly helped in raising the productivity of land in the suburban villages. An ambitious programme of Consolidation of Holdings, which promises to consolidate the entire agricultural land of the East Punjab by 1959, has been enthusiastically launched, and has already been successfully implemented over a large area. When completed, it will give a new look to the countryside with broad rectangular fields, and spacious country roads linking the villages with the National and State highways. Experiments have been made in new methods of organising agriculture, such as Cooperative Garden Colony Schemes, which will demonstrate in a practical manner the extent to which co-operative principles can be adopted in re-organisation of rural economy.

Oak is the national tree of Germany, Maple of Canada and *Tahli* of the Punjab. *Tahli* is also symbolic of the Punjab peasant. It is one of the hardest woods, and also the most useful. It can stand lopping and mutilation as no other tree can. Even if cut to its very roots it will sprout again in spring. The avenues of *Tahli*

trees on the Grand Trunk Road between Ludhiana and Jullundur were so badly lopped by the Muslim evacuees, who were leaving for Pakistan in September, 1947, and who were naturally in need of fuel, that only stumps were left in two columns along the road. It seemed as if the road would have to be replanted. After three years these stumps got covered with luxuriant leafy branches again. How symbolic of the people the *Tahli* tree is! Like Phoenix, the mythical bird of Chinese folk-lore, who after burning itself on a funeral pyre, rose again from its ashes young and vigorous, Punjab is born again after undergoing a terrible ordeal, which could have destroyed a weaker race.

INDEX

A

Absenteeism 212-213
Agriculture
  Mechanization of 167, 169-170, 189
  New patterns of 172-187
Allotment of gardens 127-131
  —evaluation of gardens for allotment 128-130
Allotment of houses 120-126
  —by Panchayats 120-121
  —in a typical village 123-126
  —rules for 121-123
Allotment of land 67-72, 68-71, 74-92
  —group allotment 68-69
  —on temporary basis 67-72
  —quasi permanent 74-92
  —special leases 70-71
Arabs, Migration of 4
Area abandoned 93
Area available for allotment 93
Arjan Dass 48-51
Aroras 54-55, 64-65
Atrocities committed 15-25

B

Baghs and Phulkaris 200-201
Bahawalpur State, massacre in 24-25
Bajwas 95
Bhangra 199-200
Boundary Commission 5
  —and Hindu-Sikh claims 5-6
  —and Muslim claims 5

C

Calvert 34-35, 39-40, 177, 186-187, 194, 203-205
Carver, Prof., 193, 210, 215-217
Chhotu Ram, Sir, 55
Claims 5-6, 75-77, 79-80
  —consolidation of 79-80
  —Muslim 5-6
  —non-Muslim 5-6
  —verification of land claims 75-77
Colonies, canal 33-38
  —Lyallpur 35-37
  —Montgomery 37-38
  —Sargodha 37
Colonists 33, 38-51
  —Area abandoned by 52
  —Brahmans 47-48
  —Dogras 47-51
  —Jats 40-47
  —Rajputs 48-51
Compensation 96
Consolidation of holdings 140, 184-185, 222
Co-operative farming 176-179
Co-operative stores 179-180
Countryside, ferment in 202-217
  —and well balanced economy 207-208

D

Darling, M.L. 36, 39
Dera Ghazi Khan District, massacre in 18
Dogras 47, 51

E

Economic consequences
  —of partition 8-11
  —of Scheme of graded cuts 106-108
Education, need for new policy 191-195
Evacuation, and M.E.O. 26
Exodus 17-32

F

Famine Commission 181-182
Farming, new patterns of 172-187
  —Co-operative farming 176-179
  —Co-operative Stores 179-180
  —garden colony co-operatives 176
  —joint village management scheme 173-176
  —"Kibbutz" co-operatives 183-184
  —market gardening 185-187
Fazal Hussain, Sir 55
Financial assistance to settlers 69, 162-171
Folk-dances 198-199
Folk songs 197-198
Foot-convoys 27-29
Furrukhseer 12

G

Garden colonies 132-151
—allotment scheme 140-143
—co-operative management 143-145, 176
—distribution of 150-151
—finances 146
—irrigation in 138
—Nurseries 145
—selection of garden colonists 139-140
—subsidiary industries 146-147
Germans, migration of 4
Ghalooghara 14
—and Sikh Ardasa 14
Graded cuts, and different categories of claimants 97-108
Greeks, migration of 4
Group allotments 68-69
Gujranwala District, massacre in 21
Gujrat District, massacre in 21-24
Gunther, Mrs. Frances. 181

H

Harijans 213-214
Holdings 93-94, 100-106, 204-205, 206
—economic holdings 93-94, 206
—levelling of large holdings 100-103
—middle class 103-104
—maximum holding 206
—size and distribution of 204-205
—small 104-106
Holocaust 12-15
—and two nation theory 12
Huguenots, migration of 3

I

Irrigated area
—distribution between East & West Punjab 8, 90, 95
—irrigation in garden colonies 138-139

J

Jats 40-47
—self-cultivating sects 56-62
—sense of humour of 42
—sikh 44-47
—story about origin of 41
—sturdy independence of 42-43
Jews, migration of 4
Jhang District, massacre in 17
Jinnah 12
Joint Village Management Scheme 173-176

K

Kambohs 46, 59-60
Kahlons 59
Kauffman 147
Khatris 54, 64, 65
Khosla, G. D. 13, 15, 16, 17
"Kibbutz" Co-operatives 183-184
Koreans, migration of 4

L

Labanas 60-61
Lal Singh 209
Landless labourers and tenants 72-73
Libraries and reading rooms 195-196
Loans
—before and after quasi-permanent allotment 171
—for artisans 166
—for bullocks 164-165
—for fodder 164
—for food 163-164
—for implements 165-166
—for mechanised farming 167-169
—for repairs 166-167
—for seeds 165
Lyallpur District, massacre in 17
—colony 35-37

M

Majhails 56-57
Mans 58
Market gardening 185-187
Massacre
—in Bahawalpur State 24-25
—Dera Ghazi Khan District 18
—Furrukhseer's reign 14
—Gujranwala District 21
—Gujrat District 21-24
—Jhang District 17
—Lyallpur District 17
—Mianwali District 18
—Montgomery District 17
—Muzaffargarh District 17
—Rawalpindi District 18
—Shahpur District 17
—Sheikhupura District 15-17
—Sialkot District 18-20

Migrants 33-66
—Colonists 33-51
—non-colonists 53-65
Mianwali District massacre in 18
Migration 1-4, 26-29
—hardships of 28-29
—and National State 4
—of Arabs 4
—of English Quakers 3
—of Germans 4
—of Greeks 3
—of Jews 3
—of Koreans 4
Model Villages 155-161
Montgomery Colony 37-38
Montgomery District, massacre in 17
Moshav Ovdim 146-147
Mudie, Sir Francis 13-14
Muzaffargarh District, massacre in 17

N

Non-colonists 53-65
Non-cultivators 62-65
—Aroras, Brahmans and Khatris 64-65

O

Out of the ashes 218-223

P

Partition 3-11
—and Boundary Commission 5
—and Muslim and Non-Muslim claims 5-6
—and population distribution 8-11
—and resources 6-8
—and riots preceding it 5
Peasant proprietorship 94, 96
Phulkaris 200-201
Preet Nagar 152
Population 8-11
—Non-Muslim in West Punjab 66
—pre-partition 8-11

Q

Quakers, migration of 4
Quasi-permanent allotment of land 74-92, 116-117
—and checking of corruption 88-89, 91-92
—and consolidation of claims 79-80
—and consolidation of close relations 116-117
—and exchange of revenue records with Pakistan 77-78
—and review of land allotments—83-85
—and standard acre 80-81
—and verification of claims 75-77
—and widow claimants 117
—Scheme of allocation 80-83, 85, 86, 87

R

Radcliffe Award 6
Rahmat Ali Chaudhry 12
Rai Sikhs 61-62
Rajputs 48-51
Rawalpindi District, massacre in 18
Refugee camps 30-32
Resources and Partition 6-8
Revenue records, exchange of 77-78
Review of allotments 83-85
Rights of tillers 208-210
Riots preceding Partition 5
Rogers Thorold 215
Rural electrification 189-191
Rural games 196
Rural Housing Scheme 152-161
—and designs of layouts 154-157, 158
—and demolished evacuee villages 153-154
—and model villages 155-161

S

Sainis 62
Saka of Bhullair 15
Sant Singh 21-24
Sargodha Colony 37
Self-cultivators 55-62
—Bajwas 59
—Kahlons 59
—Kambohs 59-60
—Labanas 60-61
—Majhails 56-57
—Rai Sikhs 61-62
—Sainis 62
—Varaichs and Mans 58
—Virks 58
Shahpur District, massacre in 17
Sheikhupura District, massacre in 15-17
Sialkot District, massacre in 18-20

Sikh Ardasa 12
Siri Niketan 152
Special leases 70-71
Standard acre 80-81

T

Tarlok Singh 173-176
Temporary allotment of evacuee land 67-72
—and financial assistance 69
—and freezing pattern of 114-116
—and group allotments 68-69
—and landless labourers and tenants 72-73
—and special leases 70-71
Tenancy problems 211-214
Transport of refugees 27-29
Two-nation theory 12
—and Ch. Rahmat Ali 12

U

Unionist Ministry 55

V

Varaichs 58
Verification of claims 75-77
Village communities
—break up of 118
Village-wise settlement 110, 113-114
Virks 58

W

Williams Monier 192

Published by The Public Relations Department, Punjab.